BUDDHIST SAVANTS OF KASHMIR
THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS ABROAD
BY
ADVAITAVADINI KAUL

Buddhist Savants of Kashmir
Their Contributions abroad

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Dedicated

to

my parents

FOREWORD

Kashmir was an eminent centre of Buddhism in the past. From there it spread to the neighbouring countries of Central Asia, China and Tibet. Besides other areas of the Himalayan regions, Ladakh is presently a stronghold of Buddhism where it still vibrates with the message of the Compassionate One.

As an important centre of Buddhist learning, Kashmir attracted inquisitive and ardent Buddhists from the neighbouring countries who studied there under persons of great repute and erudition. After completion of their studies, they returned to their countries where they propagated the lofty teachings and profound philosophy of Lord Buddha. Kashmiri scholars were also invited by the rulers of these countries or they visited them on their own to propagate Buddhism. Thus these scholars contributed substantially towards strengthening roots of Buddhism in Kashmir and its propagation in the neighbouring countries of Central Asia, China and Tibet.

I am immensely pleased to go through the history and contribution of these Kashmiri scholars towards propagation of Buddhism as brought out by Ms. Advaitavadini Kaul in her elaborate study, 'Buddhist Savants of Kashmir, their contributions abroad'. Such studies enrich our heritage and I feel confident that this comprehensive work will be immensely useful to scholars and laymen alike. I would also like to suggest to our interested budding scholars to undertake similar

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studies on other areas of Buddhism namely Buddhist philosophy, literature, history, metaphysics etc. and disseminate the wealth of knowledge contained in them for the benefit of humanity.

(Kushok Bakula)

PREFACE

Kashmir remained a great centre of Buddhist learning for several centuries. During this time Kashmir produced a galaxy of Buddhist scholars who not only gave a new shape to the decaying order by making it more popular among the common masses but also spread the teachings of Buddha in neighbouring regions of Central Asia, China and Tibet.

There are positive evidences that small Indian colonies had been founded in the southern parts of Central Asia from Khotan upto the Lobnor region before the Christian era. The Indian colonists were the first to carry Buddhism to this region[1].

At the beginning of the Christian era, although Kashmir was somewhat secluded to be a meeting place of nations even then it became a centre of considerable intellectual activity, and the most flourishing centre of Buddhist learning of the period[2]. It was the centre of the most powerful Buddhist sect of Northern India, the *Sarvāstivāda*. Kashmir also took a leading part in the transmission of Buddhist traditions to far-flung areas. The number of Buddhist scholars who, for example, went to China from Kashmir in this period was larger than those who went from other parts of India.[3]

Much of the impetus to the spread of Budddhism came from the *Kuṣāṇa* emperors during whose reign Buddhism prospered tremendously in Kashmir. The most famous of the *Kuṣāṇa* kings, *kāniṣka*, extended his sphere of influence across Himalayas to Yarkand and Khotan. He called a council of learned scholars in Buddhism in Kashmir about the end of

the first century A.D. This Council helped tremendously in the development of Buddhist faith not only within Kashmir but also for carrying it to Central Asia and China which lay along the great missionary routes of Northern Buddhism.[4]

As a result of *Kaniṣka's* Council, there burst forth an enthusiastic missionary spirit among the Kashmiris who carried this religion to China across difficult passes and thus produced a great fermentation and controversy in Chinese thought.[5] The intervening region of Central Asia came naturally first under the influence of Buddhist doctrine. It was *Vijayasambhava*, the great-grandson of king *Aśoka*, who introduced Buddhism in Khotan around 70 B. C. At about the same time, *Arhat* or *Ārya Vairocana*, a Kashmiri Buddhist scholar, came to Khotan and became the king's preceptor.[6] According to Chinese pilgrims, such as *Fa-hien*, *Song-yun* and *Yuan Chwang*, Buddhism flourished in Khotan until about 8th century A.D., and it is from here that this faith spread to other states in the South such as *Niya*, *Calmadan* (Cherchen). *Kroraina* (Loulan) and also to *Cokkuka* (Kashgar)[7]. Earlier, much of the missionary activity of the Kashmirian Buddhists seems to have centred round the celebrated Central Asian scholars, *Kumārajīva*, who is reported to have made many intimate connections with Kashmiri scholars. After finishing his education in Kashmir, *Kumārajīva* returned to his native *Kūchā*, accompanied by a large number of Kashmirian scholars. At *Kūchā* he established a monastery and undertook the translation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts and, in collaboration with his Kashmirian followers, explained these to the Central Asian and Chinese peoples[8]. Subsequently, Kashmir played a vital role in the development and propagation of Buddhism not only within the valley but in various parts of Asia. The Buddhist scholars of Kashmir wrote scriptures which came to be known as *Vibhāṣā śāstras*. Their popularity brought to the valley Buddhist scholars from distant parts of the country (India) and abroad who studied these *Śāstras* with Kashmirian teachers. A Buddhist canon in Sanskrit was written by Kashmiri scholars. This cannon is now unfortunately lost but is preserved only in parts in the Chinese and Tibetan

translations. Numerous Kashmiri scholars also elected to work outside India, in various parts of Central Asia, China and Tibet. Unfortunately, the ancient records of India, including those of Kashmir, are generally silent about the missionary activities of her scholars in propagating Buddhism in these far flung areas. The historians from these lands, however, have handed down detailed information about these missionaries who through their selfless work had built up a common civilization for nearly three quarters of the Asiatic Continent. Not all of these documentary evidences available in various Central Asian, Chinese and Tibetan languages have been translated into other languages, and not much seems to be available particularly in English. This situation has considerably limited the scope of the review of Kashmir's contribution in the propagation of Buddhism in Central Asia presented here. There is, however, reported to be available in Central Asian, Chinese and Tibetan languages a huge amount of information in this regard which needs to be tapped for an extensive analysis of the contributions of Kashmiri scholars in the development of Buddhist lore.

Much has been written about the contributions of Indian scholars in general towards the development and propagration of Buddhism. There are also a number of works on the history of Buddhism in Kashmir besides other works in which we come accross references to the activities of Kashmirian scholars in the development and propagation of Buddhism in Kashmir and outside. No significant attempt has, however, been made till date to write a comprehensive and authentic account of the Buddhist *Ācāryas* of Kashmir, the role they played in popularizing the faith in Kashmir and abroad and the contributions they made to Buddhist literature. The present work purports to fill in this vital lacuna in the development of Buddhist lore. Besides presenting an uthentic account of the distinguished Buddhist scholars of Kashmir, an attempt has been made to discuss in detail their contributions to the development of Buddhist literature. Since Kashmir was mainly instrumental in popularizing Buddhist faith in Central Asia, China and Tibet, a detailed account of the missionary activities of Kashmirian

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translations. Numerous Kashmiri scholars also elected to work outside India, in various parts of Central Asia, China and Tibet. Unfortunately, the ancient records of India, including those of Kashmir, are generally silent about the missionary activities of her scholars in propagating Buddhism in these far flung areas. The historians from these lands, however, have handed down detailed information about these missionaries who through their selfless work had built up a common civilization for nearly three quarters of the Asiatic Continent. Not all of these documentary evidences available in variou; Central Asian, Chinese and Tibetan languages have been translated into other languages, and not much seems to be available particularly in English. This situation has considerably limited the scope of the review of Kashmir's contribution in the propagation of Buddhism in Central Asia presented here. There is, however. reported to be available in Central Asian, Chinese and Tibetan languages a huge amount of information in this regard which needs to be tapped for an extensive analysis of the contributions of Kashmiri scholars in the development of Buddhist lore.

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Buddhist scholars in these regions has been presented. For this, use has been made of all the relevant literary, epigraphic, and archaeological material available on the subject.

Chapter I presents an introduction to Buddhism in Kashmir, tracing its history from its initial introduction, through the holding of Fourth Buddhist Council to the composition of famous commentaries. On the basis of epigraphic sources it has been shown that Buddhism continued to be a popular faith in the valley even as late as the 13th century.

In Chapter II, brief details about the life and works of distinguished Kashmiri Buddhist scholars have been given. This Chapter has been further sub-divided into four parts. Part one discusses those scholars who worked on and taught Buddha's teachings in the valley itself. In part two, attention has been focussed on those scholars who elected to work in Central Asia and China between 4th and 11th centuries A.D. In part three the details about those who undertook arduous journey over rugged terrain under very trying situations to visit Tibet and popularize Buddhism among the people there right from the introduction of this faith in the 7th century upto around 14th century A. D. are given. Part four focusses on the life and works of a few prominent non-Kashmiri Buddhist scholars who studied and worked in Kashmir and have left indelible impressions of their scholarship on Buddhist philosophy and literature. Some like Nāgārjuna have gone much further and contributed to the local *Śaīva* phislosophy as well.

Kashmiri scholar's contiributions to Buddhist literature forms the theme of Chapter III. With gradual development of this literature from *Hīnayānā* through *Mahāyāna* till the introduction of Buddhist logic and of various esoteric practices (Buddhist tantrism), Kashmiri scholars were active in writing treatises or translating various texts in all these branches of Buddhist learning. They also contributed in the formation of etymological dictionaries in Chinese and Tibetan languages. Since Gilgit Buddhist manuscripts are an important source of information on the historical develop-

ment of Buddhist learning and practices, a brief survey of these manuscripts in terms of their discovery and contents forms the second part of this Chapter. In the third part, a brief study of the two works of Kashmiri poets—*Śivasvāmin* (9th century A.D.) and *Kṣemendra* (11th century A.D.) has been presented. These works—*Kapphinābhyudaya* and *Avādānakalpalatā* are poetical compositions in Sanskrit with Buddhist themes which were written at the instance of some specific personalities.

In Chapter IV, a critical study of the ***Vijnāptimātratā siddhi*** of ***Vasubandhu*** has been presented. It is the basic work of *Vijnānavāda* system which is a fully developed school of Buddhist thought.

In the conduct of the present study, I have received encouragement and help from various people. Sincere gratitude is due to Prof. S. Maqbul Ahmed, ex-Director, Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University for various facilities provided in carrying out the present study, and to my supervisors Dr. B.K. Kaul Deambi, Reader, Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University and Prof. Mahesh Tiwari, Department of Buddhist Studies, Delhi University, for their valuable guidance and encouragement. I am thankful to Prof. C.B. Tripathi of the Freie Universität, Berlin for his valuable suggestions particularly in regard to the writeup on Gilgit manuscripts.

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Srinagar, Kashmir
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Advaitavadini Kaul

CONTETNS

ABBREVIATIONS

AS	*Abhidhammatthasaṅgho*
ASB	Asiatic Socicty of Bengal
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
GKC	Glimpses of Kashmīri Culture
HIL	History of Indian Literature
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JA	Journal Asiatique
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
TK	*Triṃśikākārikā* of *Vasubandhu*
VK	*Vimśatikākārikā* of *Vasubandhu*
VMS	*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* of *Vasubandhu*

Buddhism in Kashmir

The origin of Buddhism in Kashmir is shrouded in obscurity. Buddhist sources, however, are unanimous in attributing the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir to *Majjhāntika*, a monk of Varanasi and a disciple of *Ānanda*. According to Ceylonese chronicle-*the Mahavaṃśa*, *Moggliputta Tissa*, the spiritual guide of King *Aśoka* after the conclusion of Third Buddhist Council, sent missionaries to different countries to propagate Buddhism. A Buddhist savant *Majjhāntika* was deputed to Kashmir and *Gandhāra*.[1] The story of the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir by *Majjhāntika* is also told in several other Buddhist texts like the Tibetan *Dulva*, *Aśokāvadāna*, *Avadānakalpalatā* and the travel account left by *Yuan Chwang*.[2] It is infested with legendary colouring and relates how *Majjhāntika* received hostile treatment at the hands of the local *Nāga* people and their chief and how he was finally able to win over to Buddhist faith the entire *Nāga* population alongwith the king through his supernatural powers.[3]

According to the Buddhist text *Divyāvadāna*[4], however, several monks of *Tāmasavana* in Kashmir were invited by *Aśoka* to attend the third Buddhist council at *Pātaliputra*. Again, *Kalhaṇa*[5] describes the establishment of several *Vihāras* in Kashmir during the reign of king *Surendra*, the predecessor of *Aśoka*. This leads us to presume that the Buddhist faith had already been introducted in Kashmir before the time of *Majjhāntika* and *Aśoka*. However, it seems that Buddhism, though introduced earlier, gained a firm footing in Kashmir

only under the spiritual leadership of *Majjhāntika* during the 3rd century B.C.

Aśoka (c. 273-236 B.C.), whose sway extended to Kashmir as well, is described by *Kalhaṇa*[6] as a king of Kashmir and the follower of *Jina*, i.e., *Buddha* and is credited by him with the establishment of several *stūpas* and *vihāras* in the valley. Thus he is credited with the building of a *caitya* of amazing height in the town of *Vitastātra*.[7] *Yuan Chwang* also noticed four *stūpas* in the valley containing a portion of the relics of the *Buddha* which, according to him, were set up by *Aśoka*.[8] The famous Tibetan historian *Tārānātha* speaks of king *Aśoka* as having bestowed lavish gifts on the several Buddhist *saṅghas* of Kashmir.[9]

The history of Buddhism in Kashmir after *Aśoka* is somewhat obscure. Buddhism seems to have fallen on evil days during the reign of *Aśoka's* son *Jalauka* who was a supporter of the indigenous *Nāga* and *Śaiva* cults and not well disposed towards the Buddhist faith. A change in his attitude towards the Buddhist faith is, however, said to have been effected in him later by the intercession of a divine sorceress named *Kṛtya* at whose request he built a *vihāra* called the *Kṛtyāṣrama*.[10]

The next landmark in the history of Buddhism in Kashmir is formed by the famous Buddhist treatise *Millindaparña* which records the discussion on important Buddhist topics between Indo-Greek King Menander[11] or *Milinda* and the *Arhat Nāgasena*. The scene of the discussion is said to have been a spot only twelve *yojanas* from Kashmir.[12] The author of this famous treatise refers to his intimate knowledge with Kashmir and surrounding regions and appears to be fairly familiar with the people of this region. King *Milinda*, according to this work, first became a lay devotee, then built the *Milinda vihāra* and after sometime handed over the reigns of his government to his son to join the Buddhist *saṅgha*. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence attests to the professing of Buddhist faith by the Indo-Greek rulers who, after the fall of *Mauryan* empire, established their sway over whole of the North-Western India. It is not unlikely that Kashmir also came under the influence of Indo-Greek

Kings and Buddhism flourished in the valley under their benign patronage.

Buddhism received a great phillip during the rule of the *Kuṣāṇa* rulers. *Kaniṣka's* regin (c. 78 A.D.) is full of glory in the history of Buddhism. This royal patron of Buddhism came from the *Kuṣāṇa* (*Kuei-shung*) branch of the *Yueh-chi* tribe which originally inhabited parts of Chinese Turkistan (modern Sinkiang). Among the earlier *Kuṣāṇas*, Kadphises I (*Kujul-Kasa*) was a Buddhist according to his coins and inscriptions.[13] But it was *Kaniṣka* who recovered the lost glory of the religion and fulfilled the work of king *Aśoka*, viz., sending distinguished scholars abroad to propagate the religion. Kashmir and *Gāndhāra* particularly enjoyed the prosperity in the history of Buddhism during *Kaniṣka's* reign. The session of the fourth Buddhist council, the creation of the famous commentaries and the appearance of distinguished *Ācāryas* are some of the important factors for which Kashmir stood prominent during his reign.

Kalhaṇa says that *Huṣka, Juṣka* and *Kaniṣka* were the pious *Turuṣka* kings who built *Huṣkapura* (Uskur), *Juṣkapura* (Zukur) and *Kaniṣkapura* (Kanespur) respectively and erected *caityas* and *mathas* at *Śuśkaletra* and other places.[14]

According to *Tārānātha, Kaniṣka* became a devout Buddhist and listened to the discourses delivered to him by *Siṃha*—ruler of Kashmir, who, after ordination, was called *Sudarśana.*[15]

The Fourth Buddhist Council :

The fourth Buddhist council, as already noted, was held under the auspices of *Kaniṣka*. Details about this council are found in Tibetan works and also *Yuan Chwang's* records.

According to *Tārānātha*[16], when king *Siṃha* (*Sudarśana*) was preaching the religion in Kashmir, *Kaniṣka* was the king of *Jālandhara*. He came to Kashmir to listen to his (*Sudarśana's*) discourses. The Buddhist *Saṅgha* was then divided into eighteen sects. It was during the same period that venerable *Pārśva* had come to Kashmir from the East. At the latter's advice, king *Kaniṣka* got a large number of

monks assembled in the *Kārnikavanavihāra* of Kashmir where the council took place. In the opinion of *Tārānātha*, some believed the council was held at *Kuvanavihāra* in *Jālandhara*. The council consisted of five hundred *arhats*, five hundred *bodhisattvas* and five hundred *panditas*. In the council an attempt was made to reconcile the conflicting views of different sects and settle once again the *Tripiṭaka*.

Yuan Chwang gives a full description of the council starting with the circumstances under which the council took place. The Chinese traveller records[17] that at his leisure hours *Kaniṣka* used to study the Buddhist scriptures. Every day he called a monk to give him instructions. But the king was perplexed by the monks of different sects that had arisen since the *Buddha's Parinirvāṇa*. *Kaniṣka* desired to restore Buddhism to eminence and accordingly decided to arrange the *Tripiṭaka* according to various schools. Hence, at the advice of venerable *Pārśva*, he summoned a holy assembly in *Gāndhāra*, where a huge number of monks was entertained for seven days. To reduce the number of monks, a process of selection of the most learned scholars for the participation was adopted. At last only such Buddhists were allowed to take part as were well versed in the *Tripiṭaka* and were well-learned in the five sciences (*vidyas*). In this way the final number was reduced to four hundred ninety nine.

About the venue of the council, *Yuan Chwang* says that *Gāndhāra* was rejected on account of its heat and dampness. The next proposal, *Rājgraha* was objected to by *Pārśva* and others for, in their opinion, there were too many adherents of other sects there. Ultimately it was decided to hold the council in Kashmir. Here *Kaniṣka* built a monastery for the Buddhists.

According to a tradition recorded by *Yuan Chwang*, a great Buddhist savant of the time—*Vasumitra*, at first was not allowed to join the council but later, on the request of monks, he became the president of the council.

Creation of Vibhāṣās :

About the contribution of the council, *Yuan Chwang*

continues that this council composed one lac *ślokas* of *Upadeśa-śāstra*, explanatory commentary on *Sutta Piṭaka* and the same number of *ślokas* respectively for *Vinaya* and *Abhidarma* calling them *Vibhāṣā śāstras*. For the compilation of these commentaries all relevant literature from remote antiquity was thoroughlly examined. After compilation, *Kaniśka* got the treatises inscribed on copper plates and enclosed them in stone boxes which were deposited in a *stūpa* made for the purpose. *Kaniṣka* ordered *Yakśas* to guard the inscriptions and prevent them from being taken out of the country. *Yuan Chwang* adds that before leaving for his own country, *Kaniṣka* renewed *Aśoka's* gift of Kashmir valley to the Buddhist *saṅgha*.

In the '*Life of Vasubandhu*'[18] also, we come across an account of an assembly which took place in *Kipin* (Kashmir). There were five hundred *arhats* and five hundred *boddhisattvas* who participated in it. *Kātyāyanīputra* was the president and *Aśvaghosha* the vice-President. This assembly composed the *Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra*, a *Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma* treatise in eight sections. A commentary, entitled *Vibhāsā*, was written on the same. The treatise was written out on stone and placed under guard. Carrying out of any part of the treatise was prohibited by the king.

According to the Chinese tradition, *Vibhāsā śāstra* denotes a commentary or discussion on an *Abhidharma* treatise-*Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma*. This treatise was written by the masters, chiefiy of Kashmir, and those who attached themselves to the *Sarvāstivādin* school. These masters are called *Vibhāṣā-shi* and sometimes also *Kashmir-shi*.

Subsequently, we see that Kashmir became an important centre of *Abhidharma* studies. It produced a large number of distinguished scholars who specialized in the *Abhidharma* studies and wrote commentaries on the same. Among such scholars, the names of *Saṅghabhadra*, *Dharmatrāta*, *Vimalamitra*, etc., are noteworthy. Many scholars went ontside India to propagate the faith. Some, who went to China and Tibet, translated Sanskrit texts into Chinese and Tibetan. Again, after becoming an important centre of *Abhidharma* studies,

distinguished scholars of othere countries were attracted to Kashmir to gain knowledge.

After *Kaniṣka*, another king who is known to have extended patronage to Buddhism in Kashmir is *Meghavāhana* (c. 6th century A.D.) *Meghvāhana* originally hailed from *Gāndhāra*—a predominently Buddhist country[19]. He prohibited the slaughter of living beings in his country[20]. His queen *Amritaprabha* of *Prāgjyotiśa* built, for the use of foreign monks, a lofty *vihāra* called *Amritabhavana*[21] to which reference has been made by the Chinese traveller *O'Kong*[22] and which is represented by the extant ruins at *Vounta Bhavana* (ancient *Amritabhavana*), a suburb of Srinagar.

A fairly trustworthy account of the condition of Buddhism in Kashmir from the 7th century onward is furnished by the travel accounts of the Chinese travellers *Yuan Chwang* and *O'Kong* ; the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*; some archaeological discoveries; epigraphic records and other literary documents. *Yuan Chwang* visited Kashmir in 631 A.D. He saw in the valley about one hundred *Saṅghārāmas* and five thousand Buddhist priests[23]. He also saw four *stūpas* built by *Aśoka* each of which contained relics of the *Buddha*.[24] Among the Buddhist *vihāras* visited by him he specially mentions *Juṣka vihāra*[25], where he stayed for the night after his first entry into the valley at Baramulla, and *Jayendra vihāra*[26] (founded by *Jayendra*—the maternal uncle of Praversena II) where he stayed for a couple of years and received instruction in various *śastras. Yuan Chwarg* was warmly received by the king and was invited to his palace where he provided all facilities including assistance for copying important Buddhist texts. The account of *Yuan Chwang* leaves no doubt in one's mind that Kashmir at the time of his visit was a flourishing centre of Buddhist learning and there were several distinguished Buddhist *Ācāryas* in the valley who not only commanded mastery over the *Vibhāsā* and the *Upadeśa śastras* but also continued composing Buddhist texts on valuable subjects with unabated and unflayged zeal and enthusiasm. Admiring the contents of these literary texts, *Yuan Chwang* remarks that in these there was evidence of great study and research. In them could be found an extra-ordinary insight into the Buddhist lore of

various kinds and also into the Brāhmaṇical learning, Indian alphabets and the *Vedas* and their *Aṅgas*.[27]

Nīlamata Purāṇa of the 6th or 7th century A.D.[28] is a Sanskrit text dealing with the sacred places, rituals and ceremonials of Kashmir. The *Buddha* is made an incarnation of *Viṣṇu* in this work. It prescribes the celebration of *Buddha's* birthday as follows : "In the bright fortnight the image of *Buddhas* should be bathed in water rendered holy with all herbs, jewels and scents, in accordance with all instruction of the *Śākyas*, i.e., Buddhists. The dwelling places of the *Śākyas* should be whitewashed and the walls of the *caityas*—the abodes of the god—should be decorated with paintings. Gifts of clothes, food and books should be made to the Buddhists and a festival swarming with dancers and actors should be celebrated. Worship of *Buddha* with eatable offerings, flowers, clothes, etc. and the charities to the poor should continue for three days."[29]

The discovery of Buddhist manuscripts from a *stūpa* at Gilgit is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism in Kashmir. On the basis of paleography these manuscripts, which are written in the so-called post-Gupta alphabets, may be assigned to the seventh century A.D. Gilgit at that time was ruled by the *Ṣāhi* princes as is indicated by some epigraphic records[30] and the manuscripts themselves which contain a mention of some *Ṣāhi* rulers[31]. These *Ṣāhi* rulers owed allegiance to the rulers of Kashmir. It appears that the flourishing state of Buddhism in the 7th century was not confined to the valley alone but the predominance of Buddhism could also be noticed in the distant north of Kashmir.

O'Kong, also known as *Dharmadhātu*, reached Kashmir via Kabul and Kandhar in 759 A.D He stayed in Kashmir for four years and studied Sanskrit and *Vinaya* texts from the celebrated Buddhist teachers. In *Muṇḍivihāra*, he studied the *Vinaya* texts of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins*. He noticed more than three hundred *vihāras* in the valley and a large number of *stūpas* and images. Besides the *Moung-ti-vihāra*, *O'Kong* mentions the following Buddhhist monesteries in the valley :

1. *Amitabhavana*

2. *Anaṅga* or *Ānandabhavana*
3. *Ki-tche*
4. *Nao-ye-le*
5. *Je-je*
6. *Ve-li-t'e-le*
7. *K'o-toen.*[32]

The rulers of the *Kārkota* dynasty of Kashmir, who ruled in the 8th century, though staunch followers of *Śaiva* and *Vaiśnava* faiths were also favourably disposed towards the Buddhist religion. They founded Buddhist institutions and endowed them with lavish grants[33]. The celebrated *Kārkota* ruler, *Lalitāditya Muktapīda* foundeded one *Rājavihāra* with a large qnadrangle and a large *Caitya* and at *Parihāspurā* (the modern Pāraspur)[34]. He also built another *Vihāra* with a *stūpa* at *Huṣkapura* near Baramulla[35]. A huge copper image of *Buddha* built by him is said to have been as high as almost touching the sky[36]. Another celebrated ruler of the *Kārkota* dynasty, *Jayapīda Vinayāditya*, embellished his newly founded town *Jayapura* with three images of *Buddha* and a large *vihāra.*[37] The flourishing condition of Buddhism during the period of *Kārkotas* is also evidenced by archaeological excavations carried on at *Parihāsapura* and other places and which have brought to light several *stūpas, vihāras, caityas* and Buddhist images. Mention may be made of excavated site *Parihāspura* founded by *Lalitaditya* which has revealed the existence of a *stupa*, a monastery and a caitya and a brought to surface two images of *Boddhisattva* and one of *Buddha*[38].

In the following centuries Buddhism in Kashmir was overshadowed by the wide upsurge of the *Vaiśnava* and *Śaiva* faiths. However, inspite of ths overwhelming predominence of Brāhmaṇic faith and the loss of the royal patronage, Buddhism continued to fiourish even as late as the 13th century A.D. This is supported by *Rājataraṅgini* and the epigraphic evidence.

That Buddhism was still popular in the valley and had some following in the 10th century is indicated by an inscription of the reign of *Queen Diḍḍa* preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar[39]. The inscription is incised on

three sides of a pedestal of bronze statuette of the *Bodhisatta Padmapāṇi*. The eipgraph records consecration of a religious gift (*dayadharma*) consisting of the statuette itself by *Rājānak Bimaṭa*, a Buddhist devotee. Another inscription, of probably the same or somewhat later period and incised on the back of a Buddhist image, contains the famous Buddhist creed *Ye Dharmā*, etc.[40]. Another inscription, discovered from Arigom and belonging to 1197 A.D., records the construction of a brick shrine by certain *Ranadeva* for installing an image of the *Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*[41]. Similarly in the reign of *Rajajadva* (I213-1235 A.D) a particular cult object, called *Maṇḍalaka* was consecrated by the Buddhist teacher *Kamalrśrī* in honour of *Bodhisatta Lokeśvara* (*Avalokiteśvara*)[42]. To the same or the somewhat earlier period probably belong the two inscriptions discovered by Cunningham at Drass in Ladakh which contain mention of the *Bodhisattvas Maitreya* and *Lokeśvara*.[43]

According to *Rājataraṅgini*, Buddhism received patronage from king *Jayasiṃha* whose rule commenced in 1128 A.D. His favourable attitude towards Buddhism led to the construction of new *Vihāras* and renovation of the old ones. The *Śul vihāra*, construction of which was started by *Jayasiṃha's* uncle *Uccala*, was completed by *Jayasiṃha*[44] The relatives and officers of *Jayasiṃha* also gave expression to their Buddhist leanings and founded a number of Buddhist institutions to which large endowments were granted by *Jayasiṃha*[45].

Thus on the basis of archeological, epigraphical and literary evidence adduced to above, Buddhism continued to enjoy popularity in the valley even as late as 13th century A.D.

In the history of Buddhism, Kashmir has a pride of place. Ever since its introduction, Buddhism continued to flourish and enjoy popularity in the valley. The benign patronage of the pious rulers with Buddhist leanings gave it a phillip and a large number of monasteries with rich endowments were constructed throughout. These *vihāras*, in course of time, became great centres of Buddhist study and research and a large number of authentic Buddhist texts and expository

commentaries were composed by the distinguished Buddhist *Ācāryas*. These flourishing centres of Buddhism not only attracted the attention of Buddhist scholars in the country but several Buddhist celebrities of other countries also flocked to the valley to gain first-hand knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures. It was the Buddhist *Ācāryas* of Kashmir who studied and taught not only in the valley but also disseminated and expounded the Buddhist faith and Buddhist teachings in neighbouring countries of Central Asia, China and Tibet. The discussion on the countribution of these distingnished *Ācāryas* we resceve for the chapters to follow.

1. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 12, vv. 834-836

"थेरो मोग्गलि पुत्तो सो जिनसासन जोतको ।
निट्ठापेत्वान सङ्गीतिं पेक्खमानो अनागतं ॥
सासनस्स पतिट्ठानं पच्चन्तेसु अपेक्खिया ।
पेसेसि कत्तिके मासे ते ते थेरे तहिं तहिं ॥
थेरं कस्यीरगन्धारं मज्झन्तिकम पेसयि ।
अपेसयि महादेवत्थेरं महिसमण्डलं ॥"

2. *Dul-va*, *ASB* Xylograph. Vol. XI, pp. 684-690; *Aśokāvadana*, (The legends of Emperor *Asoka*) Calcutta, 1967, Introduction, p. 2; *Avadānakalpalatā*. *Kṣemendra*, *Pallava*, 70.

"माध्यान्तिकाभिद्यो भिक्षरानन्दस्य गुरीर्गिरा ।
बुद्ध शासनमाधातुं ययौ काश्मीरमण्डलम् ॥"

Watters, Thomas, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, (Royal Asiatic Society) 1904, p. 267; also Cunningham, Alexander, *Bilsa Topes*, p. 1

3. The Story is told at length in the *Mahāvamsa* ch. 121; and the *Avadānakalpalatā*, *pallava* 70; Watters *Op. cit.* p. 267

4. *Divyāvadāna*, Ed. Cowell, E.G., Neil, R. A., Cambridge, 1886, p. 399.

"वसन्ति काश्मीरपुरे सुरम्ये ये चापि धीरास्तामसवनेऽस्मिन् ।
महावने रेवतके रयेऽर्या अनुग्रहार्थं ममतेऽभ्युपेयुः ॥"

5. *Kalhaṇa, Rājataranginī*, Ed. Stein, A., Ch. (*Taranga*) 1, vv. 94, 98
6. *ibid*, v 102
7. *ibid*, v. 103
8. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 261
9. *Tarānātha, History of Buddasm in India*, Ed. Chattopadhya, Debiprasad, Simla, 1970, p. 65.
10. *Kalhana, op. cit..* ch. I, vv 140-144, 147
11. Menander ruled in the later middle of 2nd century B.C.; Sarkar, D.C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, 1 pp, 112-114
12. Trenckner, *V. Milindapanha*, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1928, pp. 82-83, 420

    Milindaphano—(The Questions of King Milinda, Tr. Rhys Davids, T.W., Oxford 1890 (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. xxxv) p. 127

    Yojana—"this from the time of holy kings of old has been regarded as a day's march for an army. The old accounts say it is equal to 40 li, accoding to the common reckoning in India it is 30 li, but in the sacred books (of Buddha) the Yojana is only 16 li." Li—"one third of a mile, with local variations according to the difficulty of the route."
13. Some coins of Kadaphises I bear the legend *Kujulakasasa Kushana Yavugasa Saca dharma-thita* which is taken to mean of Kujula kadaphises, the chief of the *Kuṣāṇas* and stead-fast in true faith. The true religion (*Saca-Dharma*) is taken to denote the religion of the *Buddha* for *Buddha's* creed is generaliy referred to as *Saca-Dharma* in early Buddhist texts and inscriptions.
14. *Kalhana, op, cit*, ch. 1, vv. 169-70
15. *Tarānatha, Op. cit*, p. 91
16. *ibid*, p. 91 seq,
17. Watters, *op. cit*, pp. 270-271
18. *ibid*. p. 279; Dutt, Nalinaksha, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Srinagar, 1939 vol. I, p. 22
19. *Kalhaṇa, op. cit.*, ch. III, v. 2
20. *ibid*, v. 6
21. *ibid*, v. 9
22. Stein, M.A,, *Notes on Ou-Kong' Account of Kashmir*, Wein, 1896
23. Watters, *Op. cit.*, p. 261
24. *ibid* : Beal, S. *Si-yu-ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. I, p. 148
25. *ibid*, p. 258

26. *ibid*. p. 259; *Hwui-li*. Shaman and *I-Tsing, Life of Hiuen Tsing*.. London, 1911, p. 69; also cf. Stein. A, *Rājataranginī*, Eng. Tr. vol. I, pp. 103, 355 n.
27. Watters, *op. cit*, pp. 277 ff
28. Ved Kumari, *The Nīlamata Purana*, Srinagar 1968, qp. 9-15
29. *Nīlamata* vv. 684-690
30. cf. Hatun Inscription of Patoladeva *Ṣahī*, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol, xxx, pp. 226 ff.
31. Dutt, N., *op. cit*, p. 34.
32. *JA*., 1895 vol, VI, p. 354
33. The Queen of the first ruler of the family, *Durlabha Vardhana* set up *Anaṅgabhavana Vihāra, Kalhaṇa, Op. cit*., Ch. 1V, v 3. This has been referred to by *O'Kong* as *Ananda* or *Ananga*: *Vihara;* see *supra*. p. 11
34. *Kalhana, op. cit*., ch. IV, vv. 194, 204
35. *ibid*. ch. IV, v 188
36. *ibid*., v. 203
37. *ibid*., vv 506-507
38. Kak, R.C., *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933, pp. 146-149
39. Deambi, B.K. Kaul, *Corpus of Śāradā Inscriptions of Kashmir*. Delhi, 1982, pp. 97 f.
40. *ibdi*., p. 139
41. *ibdi*., p. 107 ff
42. *ibid*., pp. 110 ff
43. *ibid*., p. 153
44. Kalhaṇa, *op. cit*. ch. VIII, v. 3318
45. *ibid*., vv 2402, 2410-11, 2415, 3352-53, 3343-3344

Buddhist Scholars of Kashmir

In the last chapter reference has been made to the Buddhist *Ācāryas* who by their erudition and scholarship made Kashmir a cradle of Buddhist learning for several centuries. In this chapter is given a brief account of all those scholars who preached and propagated the Buddhist learning in the valley attraching a large number of adherents and those who disseminated and expounded the faith in the neighbouring countries of Central Asia, China and Tibet.

II.i. Kashmiri Buddhist scholars in Kashmir :

Dharmatrāta : Dharmatrāta was a great *Vaibhāsika* of Kashmir. According to *Tārānātha*, *Sūdra*, a wealthy *brāhmaṇa* of Kashmir, was the patron of *Dharmatrāta* and his attendant monks.[1] *Yuan Chwang* ascribes to *Dharmatrāta* the authorship of an *Abhidharma* treatise called *'Tsa-abhidharma-lun*.[2] This work, according to the same authority, was composed by *Dharmatrāta* in a monastery near *Puśkarāvati*, the ancient capital of *Gāndhara*[3]. Another important work attributed to *Dharmatrāta* is the *Udānavarga* which is the Sanskrit version of Pāli *Dhammapada* and is considered as an *āgama* by the *Vaibhāṣikas*[4].

The first Chinese translation of a collection of *gāthās* by *Dharmatrāta* was made somewhere between 221-223 A.D.[5] As such *Dharmatrāta* must have lived before 3rd century A.D. In the genealogy of *Dhyāna* Masters of Kashmir, given by a Chinese monk *Hui-Kuan* (433 A.D.), *Dharmatrāta* figures

prominently as founder of a particular school of *Dhyāna* which was introduced in China by *Buddhabhadra* and it had an important place in the canons of Meditation[6].

Harivarman : *Harivarman* was a famous *Sarvāstivādi* teacher of Kashmir. He was a student of *Ācārya Kumāralāta*, the master of the *Sautrāntika* school of Buddhism. In Chinese language *Harivarman's* name is found as *Pomo*. He composed a valuable work in 253 A.D. When this work was composed the Buddhist church was divided into different schools, such as *Sarvāstivādin*, *Dharmagupta*, *Mahiśāsaka*, *Kāśyapiya*, *Vatsiputriya*, etc. These schools were contending among themselves, and as such drifting from the spirit of original teachings of the *Buddha*. Feeling sorry for wrong interpretations of teachings of the *Buddha*, *Harivarman* made an attempt to go through the texts of all the schools and then returning to the basic point of the real teachings; he composed *Sātyasiddhi Śāstra* which became a source of inspiration and right knowledge. Traditionally this *Śāstra* is believed to have become a part of the famous *Tripiṭaka* and thus it has played a significant role in including the Buddhist thought of the day in the *Tripiṭaka*[7].

Skandhila : *Skandhila* was a teacher of *Saṅghabhadra*[8] (see below). According to *Yuan Chwang*, *So-Kan-ti-lo* (*Skandhila*) was a *Śāstra*-master who lived in a monastery of Kashmir where he compoed *Chung-shih-fên-Pi-P'o-sha-lun*' or *Vibhaṣāprakaraṇapada Śastra*[9]. He wrote another treatise, called '*Ju-abhidharma-lun*', which in Sanskrit may be rendered as '*Adhidharmāvatāra Śāstra*' or '*Abhidharmapraveśana-Śastra*'. This small treatise is an introduction to the study of *Abhidharma*. It was later translated into Chinese by *Yuan Chwang*[10]. Since *Vasubandhu* (5th cen. A.D·) studied with *Saṅghabhadra*[11], *Skandhila*, the teacher of *Saṅghabhadra*, would appear to have lived in the second half of the 5th century A.D.

Saṅghabhadra : *Saṅghabhadra* was a native of Kashmir and a profound scholar of the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra* of the *Sarvāstivādin* School[12]. He was the teacher of *Vasubandhu* (5th cen. A.D.) during the latter's visit to Kashmir in connection with his study of the Buddhist lore. He was the teacher of

another Kashmiri scholar *Vimalamitra*. *Saṅghabhadra* composed '*Chun-tching-li-lun*', during his stay in a monastery of Kashmir, which according to *Yuan-Chwang*, was situated on a mountain to the South-East of the capital[13]. The treatise had been composed in order to refute *Vasubandhu's* '*Abhidharmakośa*' and was given the name '*Kośa-Pao*' or '*Bud-hail*' *Śāstra*. *Saṅghabhadra* entrusted his work to some of his sharpest disciples and instructed them to make use of it to undermine the superiority of *Vasubandhu*. He himself left alongwith his chief disciples to meet *Vasubandhu* in *Ayodha*. But the moment *Vasubandhu* was informed of his arrival he left *Ayodhpa*. *Saṅghabhadra* reached the place but could not see *Vasubandhu*. He died at that very place. On his death bed he wrote a letter to *Vasubandhu* begging for his apology and handed over the same to his disciples alongwith his own treatise. When *Vasubandhu* received this letter he was deeply moved and after going through the treatise he told his disciples that the work was not perfect in doctrine. It was easy to refute it. But *Vasabandhu* did not do so out of regard for *Saṅghabhara's* dying request and also because, the work expounded the views of those (*Vaibhāṣikas*), whom he had followed. He only gave a new title to the treatise, *Shun-Chêng-li-lun*' or '*Nyāyānusāra-Śāstra*', i.e., which agrees with the orthodox principles[14].

Saṅghabhadra was cremated after his death. His ashes were collected and enshrined in a *stūpa* attached to the *Saṅgharāma*, 200 paces or so to the North-West in a wood of mango trees where, according to *Yuan Chwang*, they could be seen even at the time of his visit[15].

Vimalamitra : *Vimalamitra* (*Pi-mo-lo-mi-to-lo* or *wou hau yau* 'Spotless friend'), we learn from *Yuan Chwang*, was a native of Kashmir[16]. He was a follower of *Sarvāstivāda* school and a disciple of *Saṅghabhadra*. He studied a large number of *Sūtras* and investigated various *Śāstras*. He travelled extensively in India to learn the mystries of *Tripiṭaka*. Having accomplished his work and gained a name he returned to his home. On the way he passed by the *stūpa* of his teacher *Saṅghabhadra*. He sighed and expressed sorrow over the death of his master. He felt uneasy and said : "This

master was truly distinguished, his views pure and eminent. After having spread abroad the great principles (of his faith), he purposed to overthrow those of other schools and lay firmly the fabric of his own. Why then should his fame not be eternal? I, *Vimalamitra*, foolish as I am, have received at various times the knowledge of the deep principles of his departed wisdom; his distinguished qualities have been cherished through successive generations. *Vasubandhu*, though dead, yet lives in the tradition of the school. That which I know so perfectly (ought to be preseved). I will write, then, such *Śāstras* as will cause the learned men of *Jambudvīpa* to forget the name of the great vehicle and destroy the fame of *Vasubandhu*. This will be an immortal work, and will be the accomplishment of my long-meditated design"[17]. Soon after, according to *Yuan Chwang*, his condition became very miserable and on his death bed he wrote the following letter to signify his repentence :

"The doctrine of the great vehicle in the law of *Buddha* contain the final principles. Its renown may fade, but its depth or reason is inscrutable. I foolishly dared to attack its distinguished teachers. The reward of my works is plain to all. It is for this I die. Let me address men of wisdom, who may learn from my example to guard well their thoughts, and not give way to the encouragement of doubts"[18].

Yuan Chwang records that when *Vimalamitra* breathed his last there was a great earth-tremor and a ditch was formed at the place of his death. The mortal remains of *Vimalamitra* were consigned to fire. The ashes were latter collected and a *stūpa* was erected over them in the sacred memory of the departed master[19].

Pūrṇa : *Pūrṇa*, called *Pu-la-na* in the Chinese texts, was a *Śāstra*-master who, according to *Yuan Chwang*, lived in the monastery *Shaug-lin*, situated to the North-West of the capital of Kashmir. Here he composed a commentary on *Vibhāṣā-Śastra*[20]. The monastery has not been identified.

Bodhila : *Bodhila* was another reputed scholar of Kashmir, who, according to *Yuan Chwang*, lived in a monastery situated "to the West of the capital, North of a large river and adjoining the South side of a hill"[21]. The hill, referred to

by the Chinese pilgrim, evidently denotes the present hill of *Śaṅkarācārya* and the large river the *Vitastā* or Jhelum which flows nearby. The monastery must have been somewhere at the site of the present day Badambagh Cantonment, situated to the South of the *Śaṅkarācārya* hill. The monastery belonged to the *Mahāsāṅghika* school and it was here that *Bodhila* composed a treatise called in Sanskrit '*Tattva-Saṅgrahā*' and in chinese as '*Chi-chen-lun*'. The work expounded the philosophy of the *Mahāsāṅghika* school[22].

Yaśa : *Yaśa* is known to us from the travel account of *Yuan Chwang*, as a reputed scholar who was appointed by the ruling king to look after the pilgrim, a state-guest in the former's palace. He provided all facilities and assistance to *Yuan Chwang* in the study and translation of the Buddhist texts. According to the pilgrim, *Yaśa* alias *Bhādanta* was a *Hinayānist*[23].

Dharmottarācārya : *Dharmottarācārya* was a Buddhist logician of Kashmir, who hailed during the 8th century A.D. He was the pupil of Kashmiri *Dharmākara Dutta*. He wrote commentaries on two works of *Dharmakirti*; viz.,

1. *Pramānaviniścaya*; and
2. *Nyāyabindhu*.

He also composed the following works :

1. *The Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, i. e., 'Demonstration of the momentariness of things'. It was translated into Tibetan by *Bhavyarāja* of Kashmir and *Blo-ldan-śes-rab*, a renowned Tibetan interpreter.

2. *The Pramāṇaparikṣa*, i. e., 'Examination of *Pramāṇa* or the sources of valid knowledge'. There are two forms of this composition, both of which have been translated into Tibetan by *Blo-ldan-śes-rab*.

3. *The Apohaprakaraṇa*, i.e., 'Treatise on exclusion of contradictory proposition', translated by *Bhavyarāja* and *Blo-ldan-śes-rab*.

4. *The Paralokasiddhi*, i. e., 'Demonstration concerning the world beyond', translated by *Bhavyarāja* and a monk named *Tshabñi-ma-grags* in Kashmir, during the life time of *Srī Harśa* (King of Kasmir, 1089-1101 A.D.)[24].

Ravigupta (*or Sūryagupta*) : *Ravigupta* was a Kashmiri Buddhist belonging to the 8th century A.D.[25]. He was a teacher of *Sarvajñāmitra* of Kashmir[26]. According to *Tārānātha*, this *Ācārya* held that the views of *Ācārya Nāgārjuna* and *Ācārya Asaṅga* were the same, i. e., the doctrines of *Śūnyatā* and *Cittamātratā* are identical. According to the statement of *Tārānātha*, *Sūryagupta* built twelve centres of the doctrine in Kashmir and Magadha. He was proficient in magic spells and was *Tārā-siddha*.[27], i.e., he had attained the *siddhi* of goddess *Tārā*. The following account of *Ravigupta* is recorded in the *Blue Annals*[28] :

"It is said that in the country of Kashmir there had been an image of the *Ta'u Tārā* endowed with miraculous powers (*Siddhi*) in the temple of *Raṅ-byuṅ lha-lṅa*. Lepers, after worshipping the image, were cured of their ailment. About that time the *Ācārya Ravigupta* (*Ñi-ma sbas-Pa*), who was learned in the five sciences and especially in the *tantra* was attacked by leprosy (*Klu'i gnod-Pa*). He built a hut for himself to the west of the *Vihāra*, and prayed for three months. Then the temple's gate moved (by itself) westwards, and the *Tārā* said : 'What is your wish ?' and the *ācārya* replied : 'I wish to be cured of leprosy'. In that very moment his entire body, except for a small sore on his forehead, assumed its former appearance. He asked : 'What was the reason for not curing the sore on the forehead ?' The *Tārā* replied : 'Formerly you were born as a hunter, killed animals and in the end set fire to a forest. In consequence of this, you were reborn in Hell and this is your last rebirth of the 500 rebirths in Hell', and saying so, she bestowed on him the *sādhanā*, accompanied by a *stotra* (which was recited as *mantra*). The *Tārā* said, 'with their help one may perform any kind of magic rite. I shall grant you miraculous powers (*Siddhis*)'. After that the *ācārya* composed a magic rite which corresponded to the twenty-one *sādhanās*, as well as general rites and their branches".

This ritual was taught by *Ravigupta* to his disciples and in course of time it earned great proficiency in Tibet also[29]. Following works of *Ravigupta* are preserved in Tibetan *Bstan'gyur*[30] :

1. *Tārādevīstotra ekaviṃśatikasādhanā,*
2. *Āryatārābhaṭṭārikāsādhanā Sakalpaikaviṃśakakarma-saṅkṣepa,*
3. *Bhagavatitārādevyakaviṃśatistotropāyikā,*
4. *Devitāraikaviṃśatistotraviśuddhacūḍāmaṇi,*
5. *The Āryatārābhaṭṭārikānāma dvātriṃśatkastotra sarvārthasādhakaratnālaṅkāramnishā,*
6. *The Āryatārāstotra, and*
7. *The Tārāsādhanopadeśakrama.*

Sarvajñāmitra : *Sarvajñāmitra* was a famous Buddhist monk of Kashmir, described by *Kalhaṇa* as one 'who set himself as another *Jina* (*Buddha*)'. He lived in a monastery, called *Kayyavihāra*, founded by *Kayya*, the king of *Lāta* owing allegiance to king *Lalitāditya* of Kashmir (701-738 A.D)[31]. Thus, *Sarvajñāmitra* would appear to have lived in the later half of the 8th century. He was a worshipper of *Tārā* and was known for his generousness. *Tārānātha* gives the following biographical account of *Sarvajñāmitra* :

He was an extra-(marital) son of a king of Kashmir (probably the contemporary of king *Lalitāditya* or his predecessor). When still a baby he was carried away by a vulture when his mother had left him on the terrace, herself having gone to pluck flowers. The baby was taken to a peek of Mount *Gandhola* in Nalanda. There he was received by some *Pandits* under whose protection he grew-up and became a monk well-versed in the *Piṭakas*. He propitiated the goddess *Tārā* by whose favour he received enormous wealth which he distributed among the needy. At last when he had nothing left to donate he left towards the South fearing that he would have to send the suppliants back without giving alms to them which would be against his wishes. On his journey to the South he met an old blind *brāhmaṇa* led by his son. He was going to Nalanda to implore aid from *Sarvajñāmitra*, about whose generosity he had heard a lot.

Sarvajñāmitra told him that he was the same person but had exhausted all his wealth. Hearing this the *brāhmaṇa* heaved an afflictive sigh with which *Sarvajñāmitra* felt boundless compassion for him and decided to get money for him

anyhow. While searching for money he found a king named *Saraṇa* who was passionately attached to false views. This king wanted to purchase 108 men for offering them to sacrificial fire. He had already procured 107 men and was in search of one more. *Sarvajñāmitra* sold himself for the gold equal to the weight of his body. He gave this gold to the *brāhmaṇa* who returned happy.

Sarvajñāmitra was put in the royal prison. The other prisoners were overpowered by grief seeing that the number was complete and their death was quire near. When fire was kindled, they started wailing. Again, the great *Ācārya* felt boundless compassion and he earnestly prayed to the goddess *Tārā* The goddess flowed a stream of nectar over the fire and people could see rains coming down only on the fire. When the fire was extinguished the place turned to be a lake. Seeing this wonderful event, the king was filled with admiration for the *Ācārya*. The prisoners were released with rewards.

The *Ācārya* after the lapse of a long time, wished to be at his birth place. So he prayed to the goddess. He was asked to catch hold of the corner of her clothes and shut the eyes. When he re-opened his eyes he found himself in a beautiful land in front of a magnificient palace. He could not recognise this place and asked the goddess why she had not taken him to Nalanda. She told him that this was his real birth plaɔe. He stayed in Kahemir and founded a big temple of goddess *Tārā*. *Tārānātha* further states that he was a disciple of *Sūryagupta* or *Ravigupta*[32]. The same tradition is found with minor variations in the commentary on the *Sragdharāstotra* by *Jinarakṣita*[33].

Sragdharāstotra is a hymn containing 37 verses which *Sarvajñāmitra* wrote in praise of goddess *Tārā*. '*Sragdharā*' is an epithet of *Tārā* which means 'wearer of the wreath' or 'the garland bringer' and it is also the name of the metre in which the hymn was written. *Bstan—' gyur* contains three translations of the text. The hymn, with its commentary and two Tibetan versions, is edited by S. C. Vidyabhusana in *Bibliotheca* series, 1908.

Besides '*Sragdharāstotra*' other texts attributed to *Sarvajñāmitra* are all in praise of goddess *Tārā*, viz.,

1. *Devītarākuvākyādhyesana nāma stotra*,
2. *Āryatārāsādhanā*, and
3. *Aṣṭabhayatrānatārosādhanā*[34].

Śāṅkarānanda : *Śāṅkarānanda* was a Kashmiri *brāhmaṇa*. He was specially proficient in logic. Once he thought of composing a new treatise on logic in order to refute the great Buddhist logician *Dharmakīrti*. But in a dream *Mañjuśrī* (God of wisdom) told him "*Dharmakīrti* was an *ārya* and so it is not possible for you to refute him. The faults that you imagine to be there in his views are due to your own wrong understanding". He was soon after seized with repentance. To make amends he wrote commentaries on seven treatises of *Dharmakīrti* which procured him great honour and riches[35]. Later *Śāṅkarānanda* received the title of '*Paramopāsaka mahāpandita brāhmaṇa*' and was considered a second *Dharmakīrti*[36].

Four of his works are preserved in Tibetan translation. These are[37].

1. *The Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā*, a commentary on *Pramāṇavārtika* of *Dharmakīrti*.

2. *The Sambandhaparīkṣānusārā*, a commentary on the *Sambandhaparīksāprakaraṇa*, also attributed to *Dharmakīrti*.

3. *The Apohasiddhi*, dealing with the exclusion of self and others by means of the doctrine of the '*apoha*'.

4. *The Pratibandhasiddhi*, according to its title, deals with the establishment of the causal succession.

Gaṅgādhara : *Gaṅgādhara* was a Kashmiri scholar and teacher of the great Kashmiri Buddhist propounder *Ratnavajra* (11th century) and of a great Tibetan translator *Rin-chen-bzan-po*. He was perhaps a *tantricācārya* as his only available work the *Vajravidāraṇīsādhanā* deals with *Tantra*[38].

Somaśrī : *Somaśrī* was a *Mahāpandita* of Kashmir. He was the teacher of *Parahitabhadra* of Kashmir (11th century). He has written the following texts, dealing with *Nāmasaṅgītiyogatantra*[39] :

1. *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasamgītisadhna*,
2. *Āryamañjuśrīnamasaṅgītimaṇḍalapāyikā*,
3. *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṅgītisarvamaṇḍalastotra*, and
4. *Viṃśatyākārābhisamodhikrameṇa bhagavānmanjuśrīsādhanā*.

Sajjana : *Sajjana* was grandson of *Ratnavajra*, referred to above, and son of *brāhmaṇa Mahājana*[40]. His teacher was a *brāhmaṇa* called '*Srîbhadra* or *Sūryaketu*'[41]. Though he was a layman, his reputation as a great master attracted towards him the gathering of numerous students in the capital *Groṅ-Khyer dpe-med* (Anupamapura)[42]. His fame surpassed even that of his own father[43]. *Sajjana* is considered as an originator of the movement of *Anuttarayogatantra* in Kashmir. His teachings reveal the doctrine of *Cittamātratā* and are known in Tibet as *Byams-Chos* (the doctrine of *Maitreya*)[44]. His teachings were introduced in Tibet through his Tibetan students. The great Tibetan translator *Blo-ldan-śes rab* heard the exposition of this doctrine from *Sajjana* when the former was studying in Kashmir[45]. Another Tibetan, named *Kha-bo-Che*, who accompanied *Blo-ldan-Śes-rab*, also studied under *Sajjana*[46]. The author of the *Blue Annals*, *Gzon-nu dpal*, relates that although both the Tibetans had heard the exposition of the five treatises of *Maitreya* from the same teacher (*Sajjana*), their method of exposition of the basic texts differed[47]. According to the history of the school of *bTsan* the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* and the *Dharmādharamtāvibhaṅgakārikā* had remained unknown to scholars. *Maitrî-Pā* rediscovered these two treatises in a *stūpa* wherefrom emanated a supernatural light. He prayed to *Maitreya Ajita* who appeared before him and expounded the two treatises to him. *Maitrî-Pā* preached these to *Ānandakirti* who is said to have come to Kashmir disguised as a begger. In Kashmir, when *Sajjana* saw him, he recognized him as an eminent person. He paid him homage and thus obtained from him the two treatises. *Sajjana* made several copies of these two treatises and offered them to *Pandit Jñānaśri* and others[48]. These two treatises, plus the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkārākārikā the*, *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* are called the five treatises of *Maitreya*.

It is said that a commentary on *Sūtrālaṅkāra* was written down by the translator named *Pad-ma-Seṅ-ge*. He had written it at the time of his meeting with *Sajjana*[49]. A letter written by *Sajjana* is preserved in Tibetan translation. He is said to have written it to his son *Sukṣamajana* (*Brāhmana-*

sajjanena Putrāye Preṣita lekha)[50]. *Sajjana* translated, in collaboration with *Blo-ldan-śes rab*, the *Uttaratantraṣāstra* (attributed to *Maitreya*) and *Uttaratantraśāstravyākhyā*[51].

Mahāsumati : Mahāsumati of Kashmir was a great logician and known as *Mahātārkika*. He was the pupil of *Parahita* of Kashmir who confided to him the teachings based on the *Prasannapāda* and the *Mādhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*[52]. His name occures among the chief logicians under whom the great Tibetan translator *Blo-ldan Śes-rab* received instructions in the monasteries of Kashmir[53]. He collaborated with another Tibetan translator, *Ñi-ma grags*, at the *Ratnaguptavihāra* in Kashmir. Together they translated :

1. *The Prasannapāda* of *Çandrakîrti*, which is a commentary of the *Mūlamādhyamakakārikā* of *Nāgārjuna*. They also corrected the Tibetan translation of *Mūlamādhyamakakārikā* which was previously done by *Jñānagarbha* and *Klui rgyal-mchan*. The correction was undertaken after a comparison with its commentary[54].

Manoratha : *Manoratha* was also amongst the chief logicians under whom *Blo-ldan-Śes rab* received instructions in Kashmir[55]. With this Tibetan translator he (*Manoratha*) translated *Apohasiddhi* of *Śāṅkarānanda* at *Gron-Khyer-dpe-med* (Anupamapura) in Kashmir[56].

Arcata : Arcata, originally a *brāhmaṇa*, became a great Buddhist scholar of Kashmir as is evidenced by his work on logic, named *Hetu-bindu-Vivarna*. It is a commentary on *Hetu-bindu* of *Dharmakirti*. The work of *Arcata* which is preserved in Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur* is divided into four chapters dealing respectively with :

1. Identity (*Svabhāva*);
2. Effect (*Kārya*) ;
3. Non-perception (*Anupalabdhi*) ; and
4. Explanation of six characteristics (*Saḍlakṣana-Vyākhya*).

Mention of *Arcata* has been made by two Jaina authors *Gunaratnasuri* (1409 A.D.) and *Ratnaprabhasuri* (1181 A. D.). The former also mentions another work of *Arcata*, named *Tarkatîkā*[57].

II. ii. *Kashmiri Buddhist Scholars in Central Asia and China.*

Saṅghabhūti : *Saṅghabhūti* is reported to be the first Buddhist scholar of Kashmir who went to China. He had specialized in *Abhidharmavibhāsā*. His name is given in Chinese transcription as *Seng-kia-po-ch'eng* and in translation as *Chong hien*. He reached the northern capital of China in 381 A.D. and was received by the leading Buddhist scholars in China. At their request, *Saṅghabhūti* translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese. He is said to have translated three works uptill 384 A. D. The most important work among these was an extensive commentary on the disciplinary code, i. e., *Vinaya Pitaka* of the *Sarvāstivāda* school[58].

Gautama Saṅghdeva : *Gautama Saṅghadeva* was a Buddhist scholar of Kashmir who had specialised in *Abhidharma*. He reached *Khāñ-ān*, the Chinese capital of the former *Tsin* Dynasty of *Fu* family, in 383 A. D. This was the period when *Saṅghabhūti* was still working in China. The name of *Gautama Saṅghadeva* is given in Chinese transliteration as *Kiu-t'an Seng-Kia-tipo* and in translation as *Chong t'ien* ("Community god"). He came to *Ch'ang-ngan* in 384 A.D. and stayed in the North till 391 A. D. Being a scholar of profound knowledge, he revised the earlier translations and explained the texts to his Chinese colleagues during his stay in the North and also acquired a knowledge of the Chinese language. He went to South China in 391 A.D. and joined the famous Buddhist institution *Lu-shan*. This institution was founded by a Chinese Buddhist scholar, named *Hui-Yuan*, who played a great role in the co-ordination of Buddhist studies in China. *Gautama Sāṅghadeva* translated here some Sanskrit texts. *Tridharmaka-Śāstra* is the work he translated in 391 A.D. under the Chinese title *San-fa-tu-lun*. He further went to *Nanking* in 397 A. D. where he made a deep impression on the ruling class and it is said that one of them even built a monastery for him to carry on his literary work. Here also he translated a number of important Buddhist texts with the assistance of his Chinese friends and Kashmirian followers. The Chinese version of *Madhyamāgamasūtra* which is rather similar to *Majjhima Nikāya* of the *Hīnayāna* school,

was completed in 397-398 A. D. He translated *Abhidharmahridaya Śāstra* also under the Chinese title *O-Phi-thān-sin-lun.* In all he translated eight works into Chinese[59].

Puṇyatrāta : *Puṇyatrāta* was a Buddhist scholar of Kashmir. He was the teacher of *Dharmayaśas* of Kashmir. His name is given in Chinese transcription as *Fo-jo-to-lo* and in translation as *Kong-to-hua.* He reached China during *Hun-Sh* period, i. e., '399-415 A.D. Here he came under the influence of great mastermind *Kumārajîva* and found a chance to work with him. In collaboration with *Kumārajîva* he translated in twenty-nine sections *Daśādhāya Vinaya*, (*Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*) under the Chinese title *Shih-sun-lun* in the year 404 A. D. He was probably in *Kūchā* when *Kumārajîva* was taken to China and he followed him to China to help him in the work of translation[60].

Dharmayaśas : *Dharmayaśas* was another Buddhist of Kashmir whose name is given in Chinese transliteration as *Tan-mo-ye-she* and in translation as *Fa-ming* or *Fa-Cheng* ("Law glory"), He was a pupil of *Puṇyatrāta* with whom he came in contact at the age of fourteen in Kashmir. Attaining great efficiency in the Buddhist lore, he studied the sacred texts under the guidance of his teacher *Puṇyatrāta.* At the age of thirty years he left the country, first travelled in various countries of Central Asia and then reached China sometime between 397-401 A.D. He was in *Ch'ang-ngan* during the period 405-414 A. D. and translated these works into Chinese. One of them is not available, while other two include :

1. *Strivivarta-vyākarana-Sūtra*, and
2. *Śāriputrābhidharma-Śāstra.*

Dharmayaśas is said to have returned to Central Asia after completing his work in China. It is likely that he returned to his homeland later in his life[61].

Buddhayaśas : *Buddhayaśas* was one of those Buddhist monks of Kashmir who were attracted to Kūchā when *Kumārajîva* was there. His name is transcribed into Chinese as *Fo-to-ye-she* and translated as *Kio ming.*

Buddhayaśas belonged to a *brāhmaṇa* family of Kashmir. He was the only son of his parents. His father was a non-believer in Buddhism who once, is said to have, assaulted a

Buddhist monk. Retribution came in the from of sudden paralysis of his hands. Realising his misdeed he searched for the monk and invited him to his home and honoured him well. To show his deep reverence to the monk he offered his only son *Yaśa* who was at that time only thirteen years old. *Yaśa* was taken to distant countries and was given instructions in Buddhist lore. At the age of twenty-seven he completed his studies and thus became a full-fledged Buddhist monk. Now, *Buddhayaśas* started for foreign countries. He first went to Kashgar (*Su-leb*) in response to an invitation from the ruler who had invited three thousand Buddhist monks on a religious occasion. Amongst such a large number of invitees the ruler was so highly impressed with the striking appearance and manners of *Buddhayaśas* that he invited him to live in the palace. The ruler became his devout follower. *Buddhayaśas* was kept in Kashgar for a number of years. It was here that he came in contact with *Kumārajîva* who was travelling back to Kūchā from Kashmir. Together they studied some sacred texts for sometime and then *Kumārajîva* proceeded to Kūchā.

Kūchā was then invaded by the Chinese army. The ruler of Kashgar went to its aid leaving his young prince in charge of *Buddhayaśas*. But Kūchā was already conquered by the Chinese General before he reached there. *Kumārajîva* was taken to China as a prisoner. *Buddhayaśas* was pained to hear this news. He remained in Kashgar for ten years more and then went to Kūchā. In Kūchā, he stayed for one year. He wrote a letter to *Kumārajîva* expressing his desire to join him. At last he could find a chance to join *Kumārajîva* in the Chiness capital, *Ch'ang-ngan*. He worked with *Kumārajîva* for some time and himself translated some works into Chinese. Four Sanskrit works are attributed to him which he translated between 410-413 A. D; one of these is the translation of *Ākāśagatbha-bodhisattvasūtra*. He also translated *Dirghāgama* and *Dharma Gupta Vinaya* into Chinese. One more work ascribed to him is the translation of *Dharma Gupta Prātimoksha*.

It is believed that *Buddhayaśas* returned to Kashmir after *Kumārajîva's* death. It is said that he was a man of high moral character and refused to accept gifts offered to

him by the Chinese emperor, saying that a Buddhist monk had no right to accept such gifts[62].

Vimalāksa : *Vimalāksa* was another celebrated monk of Kashmir. His name is given in Chinese transcription as *Pi-mo-lo-ch'a* and in translation as *Wu Ke yen.* He went to Kūchā and studied in the Miracle Monastery. This monastery is called *Wang-Ssu* or Royal *Vihāra* also by other writers. Here the monks came to study the *Vinaya.* It was here that *Vimalāksa* acquired great fame as a *Vinaya*-master. The Chinese traveller *Yuan Chwang,* who visited the monastery, writes : "The Miracle Monastery, drew learned brethren from distant places to it and it seems that these men came chiefly to study the *Vinaya.* One of these great students was *Vimalāksa*, popularly known as the Dark-eyed *Vinaya* Master, a contemporary of *Kumārajîva*"[63].

Kumārajīva studied the *Vinaya* texts with him in Kūchā. Afterwards, the former was taken as a prisoner to China where he started translating under royal command. *Vimalākṣa* also started for China reaching there in 406 A.D. In China, he met his old pupil *Kumārajīva* who cordially received and respected him. *Vimalākṣa* stayed in *Ch'ang-ngan* from 406-413 A.D., translated a number of works himself and explained the translations made by *Kumārajīva* to Chinese scholars. After *Kumārajiva's* death in 413 A.D., he went to South China, where he spent the rest of his life preaching Buddhism. Here, he is said to have translated two works; one of them being the translation of *Daśādhāyavinaya*. He died in the year 418 A.D. at the age of seventy-seven.[64]

Buddhajiva : *Buddhajīva* was a teacher of *Vinaya* in Kashmir. He was one of those monks who reached South China by the sea-route. His name is given in Chinese transcription as *Fo-to She* and in translation as *Kiao She.* He reached Nanking in 423 A.D. He was a collaborator of *Fa-hien* and translated some important manuscripts which *Fa-hien* had brought from India. Being a follower of *Mahīśāsaka* school, translations of three works of the same school are ascribed to him. *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* and *Prātimoksha of Mahīśāsaka* are two of these works.

Buddhajiva is believed to have stayed in China till his death[65].

Dharmamitra : Dharmamitra was another Buddhist monk of Kashmir. His name is given in Chinese transliteration as *T'an-mo-mī-to* and in translation as *Fa Siu* ("Law flourishing"). He first went to Kūchā and then travelled in different parts of Central Asia. He was not allowed to proceed to China by the officials of this country. But he secretly reached *Tu-huang* in 424 A.D. Here he founded a monastery and planted more than one thousand trees. He then went to Nanking in South China where he resided in the *Che huan sse* or *Jetavanavihāra.* He is said to have met here the great Kashmiri Buddhist *Guṇavarman,* who was at *Nanking* in 431 A.D. *Dharmamitra* continued his work of translation from 424-441 A.D. He was a great teacher of doctrine of *Dhyāna* (meditation) and introduced a number of works on *Dhyāna* or meditation in China. He stayed in *Nanking* upto 433 A.D. in the *Jetavanavihāra.* He is said to have translated twelve texts. *Ākāśagarbhabodhisattva-dhārani-Sūtra* is the only one text available. He subsequently went to North China where he died in the year 442 A.D. at the age of eighty-seven years. *Dharmamitra* lived a quiet life, teaching the sacred texts to his disciples[66].

Guṇavarman : All that we know about *Guṇavarman* is based on an able article conributed by the great Sinologist M.Ed. Chavannes to '*Toung Pao*' in May, 1904[67].

Guṇavaaman is said to have been born in a royal family of Kashmir in 366 A.D.[68]. His ancestors were governing the kingdom for a longtime, but his grand-father, *Haribhadra,* was banished from the country on account of oppressive rule. Because of this, his father *Saṅghānanda* also had to pass his life in forest as an exile. It is difficult to verify the tradition recorded by Chavannes regarding *Guṇavarman's* connections with a royal family of Kashmir. It is not known to which royal family did he belong. The only independent source available to us is the *Rājataraṅgini* which, however, makes no mention of *Guṇavarman.*

A story runs about his early age. It is said that one day his mother asked him to kill a fowl. His conscience did

not allow him to do so. He objected to his mother on religious grounds. Becoming enraged, his mother told him if he considered that a sin, she would suffer the penalty in his place. One day his finger was burnt and he immediately came to his mother asking her to bear the pain in his place. His mother told him that the pain was in his body and how could she suffer that. So *Guṇavarman* reminded her of her remarks made the other day that she would suffer for his sins. The mother had no answer.

When he was eighteen years old, a prophecy was made about him, according to which, he would govern a kingdom at the age of thirty, would turn towards the South and would be proclaimed venerable.

When he was twenty, he retired from the world, became a *Sramaṇa* (monk) and soon mastered all the Buddhist scriptures. He acquired such a deep and profound knowledge in the holy scriptures that he was called, by his contemporaries, the 'Master of *Tripiṭaka*'.

When *Guṇavarman* attained the age of thirty, the king of Kashmir died issueless. After a long deliberation, the ministers agreed to invite *Guṇavarman* to ascend the throne as he was a descendant of the royal family. When approached by the ministers, *Guṇavarman* declined to accept the offer. Soon he left the kingdom of Kashmir for Ceylon (*Símhala*). After propagating *Dhamma* in this island, he reached the kingdom of *Cho-P'o*, the island of Java - where he was received by the king warmly.

There runs a story about the conversion of this island by *Guṇavraman.* It is said that one day before *Guṇavarman's* arrival in Java, the mother of the king of that island had a dream. In her dream she saw a monk entering the kingdom in a swift boat. Next day when *Guṇavarman* actually arrived there, the king was induced by his mother to welcome the monk and accept the teachings of *Buddha* from him. The king also wished that all should obey and respect the monk and there should be no killings and also that gifts should be given to the poor. With such favour, *Guṇavarman* afterwards converted the whole kingdom into Buddhism. Before *Guṇavarman's* arrival, Hinduism was flourishing in Java

as was noticed by the Chinese pilgrim *Fa-hien* who had visited Java a little earlier on his way back to China from India[69].

By now *Guṇavavrman's* fame had spread all over the Buddhist countries. Among other Chinese monks, the atten-tion of *Houei-Kouan* and *Houie-ts'ong* was attracted towards him. In the year 424 A.D., they approached the *Wen* Empe- for suggesting him to invite *Guṇavarman* to the territory of *Song* to spread the religious instructions. Agreeing to their proposal, the Emperor ordered the prefect of *Kiao-theou* to take necessary actions. Consequently a few Chinese monks were sent to *Guṇavarman* to bring him over to China. When they reached Java, *Guṇavarman* had already embarked on a merchant boat owned by the Hindu merchant *Nandi* who wanted to go to a small kingdom but the wind took the vessel to *Canton*. In his own words : "When I was already en route, I was pushed by the wind and I arrived at the *Song* territory." Hearing the news of his arrival the *Wen* Emperor again issued a decree ordering the prefects and Governors to send him to the capital.

On his way to the Chinese capital, he passed one year at *Che-Hing*. He found the mountain *Hou-Che* resembling *Gṛdhrakūta*, so the name was changed to the 'Peak of Vulture'. It is said that the prefect of *Che-Hing* expressed deepest admiration for *Guṇavarman*. When the former was about to die, *Guṇavarman* went to see him and comforted him by preaching the *Dhamma*.

In the year 431 A.D., *Guṇavarman* arrived at *Nanking*. The *Wen* Emperor received him cordially and addressed him thus : "As your disciple, I constantly wish to follow the teachings of *Lord Buddha* and not to kill. But in the exigency of time, I cannot follow them. Please instruct me, O master, in these matters".

The Emperor arranged his accomodation in the monas-tery of *Tche-houan* (*Jetavanavihāra*). Homages were brought to him by all distinguished personalities. While residing in this monastery, *Guṇavarman* started preaching the *Dhamma* and began to explain *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra* and *Daśa-bhūmi Sūtra*. He was requested by the monk of this monastery,

named *Houei-Yi*, to publish the work entitled - *P'ou-sa chan kie*. *Guṇavarman* published twenty-eight sections of this work and the remaining two sections were done by one of his disciples.

Another monk, named *Iśvara*, was translating a work entitled *Tsa sin*. But he could not finish it due to some difficulties. *Guṇavarman* was requested to complete it. He translated the last thirteen chapters. Hence the whole work comprised twenty-six chapters. His style of writing was perfect and exact.

Organising the *Saṅgha* of the Chinese nuns was one of his remarkable activities. So far Buddhism had not appealed to the Chinese ladies. A movement was set on to organise the *Saṅgha* of Chinese nuns. *Guṇavarman* was requested to make rules for nuns. The nuns of the *Ying-Fou* monastery prayed him : "It is six years ago that eight nuns of the kingdom of Ceylon came to the capital. In the *Song* territory there was no nun. Where are the rules for the second assembly (for our observance) to be found ?" *Guṇvarman* was willing to give them defences but it was not advisable because they had neither the requisite number nor had they attained the necessary age. They were asked to improve these deficiencies. They were later organised as nuns at their proper age.

Guṇavarman died in China at the age of sixty-seven in the year 431 A.D. He had a brilliant career and his was a great contribution in improving the spiritual welfare of the people and propagating Buddhism in China and Java. Besides these activities, he is reported to have translated ten works (mainly on *Vinaya*) into Chinese. One of these works is the *Bodhisattva-Carya-nirdeśa*[70].

Buddhavarman : *Buddhavarman* probably belonged to Kashmir. In Chinese transcription his name is given as *Fou-t'o po-mo* and in translation as *Kio k'ai*. He had specialised in *Vibhāsā*. He went to Western China shortly before 433 A.D. and there translated the sixty chapters of *Mahāvibhāsā-Śāstra* between 437 and 439 A.D.[71]

Ratnacinta : In Chinese there is a name *A-mi-chen-na*. The Sanskrit equivalant of this name is *Ādisena*. This is the

name of a Kashmir Buddhist monk who was known as *Ratnacintā* also. He originally belonged to a royal *kṣātriya* family. He had specialised in *Vinaya*.

He reached *Lo-Yang* in 693 A.D. and was given accommodation in a monastery, named *T'ien-koan sse*. He translated seven works between 693-706 A.D. He is said to have founded the monastery *T'ien-chu sse* ("The monastery of India") in China. He died in China in 721 A.D. at the age of one hundred. '***Sūtra on counting the good qualities of a rosary***' and *Ekāksharadhārani* are amongst many works translated by him into Chinese[72].

'*T'ien-si-tsai*' : *T'ien-si-tsai* was a monk of Kashmir. His original name is not known. He visited China in 980 A.D. and remained there for twenty years. During all these years he worked hard for the cause of Buddhism. In the year 982 A.D. he received a title of '*Ming-Chao Ta-shih*', meaning 'Great Master who Illuminated the religion', from the Emperor for the translation of sacred Indian books. He was put in-charge of a committee with other two Indian monks, viz., ***Fa-tien*** and *Dānapāla*, to undertake translation work. Each one of them was asked to translate one work. It was probably due to their activities that the Chinese Buddhist collection was enriched by 201 volumes between the years 982 and 1011 A.D.

During his twenty years' stay in China, *T'ien-si-tsai* could produce eighteen works of translation. He translated the *Dharmapada* which has various versions in Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. The translation of *Daśnāma-Sūtra* and *Upamitāyuṣ-Sūtra* are also attributed to him.

He died in the year 1000 A.D. A posthumous title of '*Hwi-Pien-fa-sh*' was conferred upon him as a mark of honour to his memory[73].

'*Mu-Lo-She-Ki*' : There are notices of several Indians, preserved in the Chinese Buddhist Encyclopaedia, who visited China during the *Song* period (960-1979 A.D.). The name of a Kashmiri monk, *Mu-lo-she-ki*, is also preserved in this Encyclopaedia. He visited China in the year 1005 A.D. and presented Sanskrit manuscripts and *Bodhi*-tree there[74].

Prajñābala : *Prajñābala* was a Buddhist monk of Kashmir whose name is given in Chinese partly in transcription and partly in translation as *Pan-jo-li*. He is said to have translated one work (title not known) during the *T'ang* period (618-907 A.D.)[75]

II. iii. Kashmiri Buddhist Scholars in Tibet

Dharmākaradatta : According to *Tātānātha*, *Dharmākaradatta* lived in Kashmir. He was a contemporary of the Tibetan king *Khari-Sroṅ-lde-btsan* (755-797 A.D.). He was a logician and was teacher of Kashmiri *Dharmottarācārya*. *Vinayavastu* is the most importont work which was translated by *Dharmākara* alongwith another Kashmiri named *Sarvajñādeva*, *Vidyākaraprabha* (of India) and *Dpal-gyi lhun-Po*, (of Tibet)[76].

Ananta : *Ananta* was a Kashmiri *Pandit* who lived in Tibet during the reign of king *Khri-Sroṅg-lde-btsan* (802-845 A.D.). The king invited him to translate *Dharma-granthas*, He had acquired full hold on both Sanskrit and Tibetan. When the Indian *Ācārya Śāntarakṣita* was invited to Tibet he did not know Tibetan. It was *Ananta* who worked as his interpreter. Thus it was through *Ananta*, the teachings of *Ācārya Śāntarakṣita* were communicated to Tibetans. *Annals of Ladakh* record that *Ananta* had become a translator (*lo-ca*) and used to preach about the ten forces, the eighteen "regions" (?) and twelve *nidāna*[77].

Jinamitra : *Jinamitra* was a Kashmiri *Vaibhāṣika* who hailed during 9th century. His teacher was *Pūrnavardhana*. The Tibetan king *Khri-Sroṅ lde-bcan Ral-pa-can* (821-836 A.D.)invited him to Tibet. The invitation was sent to other teachers also. The purpose of inviting these teachers was to revise old translations in order to introduce into them the uniformity of language so as to make them easy to understand. It was in Tibet that *Jinamitra* received the pompous title '*Āryamūlasarvāstivāda* (*mahā*) *Vinayadhara Kāśmiravaibhāṣika ācārya*'.

Jinamitra translated following works in collaboration with some other distinguished translators :

(a) The texts of the *Dul-va* (*Vinaya*) :

1. *The Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra* ; and
2. *The Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga.*

(These two works were translated in collaboration with *Sarvajñāmitra*, *Vidyākaraprabha*, *Dharmākara*, *Dharmaśribhadra* and with the help of the Tibetan translators, *Dpal-Syi lhun-po*, *Dpal-brcegs*, *Klu'i rgyal-mchan* and *Dpal-'byor*).

3. *The Lalitavistāra*,
4. *The Karandavyūha*,
5. *The Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, and
6. *The Buddhāvatamsakasūtra.*

(b) The texts of *Prajñāpāramita* :

1. *Daśasāhasrikā*,
2. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*,
3. *The Sañcayagāthā*,
4. *The Pañcaśatikā*,
5. *The Vajracchedikā*, and
6. *The Suvikrāntavikramiparipṛcchā.*

Jinamitra specially occupied himself in translating the *Vinaya* section of the *Bstan-'gyur*. The most monumental work he translated, with *Sarvajñādeva*, *is Vinayasamuccaya.* Their Tibetan assistant in this work was *Klu'i rgyal-mchan.* With the latter's assistance, *Jinamitra* also translated the following works of *Vinaya* :

1. *The Vinayavibhaṅgadavyākhyāna* of *Vinītadeva*,
2. *The Vinayasūtra* of *Guṇaparabha*,
3. *The Vinayasūtraṭīkā* of *Dharmamitra*, and
4. *The Ekottarakarmaśataka* of *Gunaprabha.*

(d) *Jinamitra's* name is associated with the translation of some *Abhidharma* texts as well. These words are :

1. *The Prajñāptiśāstra* of *Mahāmaudgalyāyana*,
2. *The Abhidharmakośakārikā* of *Vasubandhu*, and
3. *The Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* by *Vasubanahu.*

(e) *Jinamitra* also collaborated in translating the following works of *Mādhyamika* school :

1. *Sūtrasamuccaya* of *Nāgārjuna*,
2. *The Yuktiṣastikāvṛtti* of *Chandrakirti*,
3. *The Śikṣāsamuccaya* of *Śāntideva*, and
4. *The Āryavajracchedikāprajñāpāramitatīkā*.

(f) Some works of *Vijñānavādin* school also were translated by *Jinamitra* with the help of other translators. The titles of the works are :

1. *The Madhyāntavibhaṅga* of *Maitreya* and the *tikā* of *Vasubandhu* and of *Sthiramati*,
2. *The Āryasandhinirmāṇabhāṣya* of *Asaṅga*,
3. *The Mahāyānasamgraha* of *Asaṅga*, and
4. *The Adhidharmasamuccaya* of *Asaṅga* with its comments of *bhāṣya* of *Jinaputra* and the *Vyākhyāna*.
5. *The Yogācaryābhūmau Vastusamgraha Asaṅga*,
6. *The Vimśakārikā* of *Vasubandhu*,
7. *The Pañcaskandhabhāṣya* of *Pṛthivibandhu*, and
8. *The Prakaraṇaviṃśakātikā* of the Kashmiri *Vinitadeva*.

It is said that, following *Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Pūrnavardhana*, *Jinamitra* further expounded the doctrine of *Maitreya*.

Jinamitra also translated with the help of Tibetan *Ye-'ses sde, the Nyāyabindutikā* of the Kashmiri *Vinītadeva*.

At the request of king *Khri-lde Sroṅ bcan, Jinamitra,* in callaboration with several other scholars, accompalished the enormous task of compiling an etymological dictionary comprising about 9500 technical expressions. This task was undertaken with a double aim, i.e., to facilitate later translations and to unify the vocabulary.[78]

Dānaśila : *Dānaśila* was a Kashmiri Buddhist and a contemporary of *Jinamitra* and *Sarvajñādeva*. He was also invited to Tibet by king *Ral-pa-can*. In collaboration with

his Kashmiri contemporaries and other translators, *Dānaśila* translated the following works :

1. *The Prajñaptiśāstra* (an *abhidharma* text) of *Mahāmaudgalyāyana.*

2. Two texts of the *Mādhyamika* school :
   (a) *The Yuktiṣastikāvṛtti* of *Candrakirti* and
   (b) *The Śikṣāsamuccaya* of *Śāntideva* and the corresponding *Kārikā.*

3. The texts of the *Vijñānavādin* school :
   (a) *The Viṃśakākārikā of Vasubandhu,*
   (b) *The Pañcaskandhabhāṣya* of *Pṛthvibandhu,* and
   (c) *The Prakaraṇaviṃśakātikā* of the Kashmiri *Vinitadeva.*

Dānaśila was also one of the scholars who compiled the dictionary referred to above.[79]

Sraddākaravarman : *Sraddākaravarmān* was amongst the Kashmiri collaborators of the great Tibetan translator, named *Rin-chen-bzaṁ-po* (958-1055 A.D.). He was introduced to the system of *Buddhajñāna* under *Śāntipada.* He received instruction about the propitiation of *Tārā* according to the method of *Ravigupta* from *Vāgiśvara.* He taught *Buddhajñāna* to *Rin-chen-bzeṁ-po* and the propitiation of *Tārā* was transmitted by him to *Tathāgatarakṣita. Sraddākaravarman* is the author of some short works, the longest among these works being the *Yogānuttaratantrārthāvatārasaṅgraha.* Other works are :

(a) Cycle of *Sambāra* :

   1. *Tattvagarbhanāma Sādhanā,* and
   2. *Herukāviśuddhi.*

(b) *Guhyasamāja* cycle (according to the teachings of *Nāgārjuna*) :

   1. *Vajrajapatikā,* and
   2. *Jñānavajrasamuccayatantrodbhavasaptālaṅkāravimocana.*

(c) Cycle of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* :

1. *Saṃkṣiptamaṇḍalasūtra*, and
2. *Sāmkṣiptamaṇḍalasūtravṛtti*.

(d) Cycle of the *Sarvarahasya* and of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* :

1. *Pratiṣṭhāvidhisankṣepa*.

(e) Cycle of the *Kriyatantra* :

1. *Arapacanasādhanāvidhi* of the cycle of *Mañjuśrī*,
2. *Vajrapāṇisādhanā* of the cycle of *Vajrapāṇi*.

(f) Text concerning the sacrificial oblations (*bali*).

1. *Madhyamabhāgatrayavidhi*.

(g) Various *Upadeśa* :

1. *Bhagavatyāryatārāstotra*.

Sraddākaravarman also translated a large number of works most important of which were done with the co-operation of *Rin-chen bzaṅ-po*.[80]

Ratnavajra : *Ratnavajra* was originally a Kashmiri *brāhmaṇa* who became a great Buddhist master. *Tārānātha* relates a story of his patronage according to which he was the son of a *brāhmaṇa* named *Haribhadra*. The story runs as follows : Once a Kashmiri *brāhmaṇa* appeased *Maheśvara*. Thus, it was predicted that all his descendants would become renowned scholars. The prophecy came through and amongst his twenty-five descendants the last was *brāhmaṇa Haribhadra*. This *brāhmaṇa* once entered in a debate with Buddhists having staked his own creed. He was defeated in debate, as a result of which he was converted to Buddhism. Having become a Buddhist, he acquired proficiency in the doctrine. *Ratnavajra* was son of this converted *brāhmaṇa*.

Ratnavajra was an *Upāsaka* (a lay disciple). He studied in Kashmir upto the age of thirty under *Gaṅgādhara*.[81] He learnt by heart the *Sūtras*, the *tantras* and all the branches of knowledge. After that he went to *Vikramaśila* for further studies. In *Vikramaśila* he received the title of '*Paṇḍita*'

from the king and became the central pillar of the University there. Among his expositions there, noteworthy works include the *Tantra-yāna,* the seven treatises on *Pramāṇa,* the five works of *Maitreya,* etc, *Ratnavajra* returned to Kashmir. He converted many *tirthikas* to the Buddhist faith and established many centres for the study of *Vidyāsambhāra, Sūtrālaṅkara, Guhya-samāja,* etc.

From Kashmir, *Ratnavajra* proceeded to *Udyāna* (Urgyana). It was perhaps here that he converted a *Śaivaite* Kashmiri *brāhmaṇa,* to whom he gave the name *Guhyapragñā* after ordination.

Ratnavajra went to *Tho-liñ* where he assisted in translation of several works and collaborated with the great Tibetan translator *Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po.* He, further visited Central Tibet where he had a chance to supervise the rebuilding of the circular terrace of *Bsam-yas,* which was burnt in 986 A.D. *Ratnavajra* supervised five hundered workers including brick-layers, carpenters, goldsmiths, black-smiths and sculptors for three years.

Ratnavajra is believed to have transmitted the *Prasannapāda* and the *Mādhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* to *Parahitabhadra. Dam-pa Sans-rgyas* (*Paramabuddha*), a native of South India, was instructed in *Mahāmudrā* under him. As a logician. *Ratnavajra* composed the *Yuktiprayoga,* signifying application of reasoning. Other works of *Ratnavajra* which deal with the *Mantrayāna,* are :

(a) Cycle of *Buddhasamayoga* :

1. *Śrīsarvabuddhasāmayogadākinījālasambāramahātantrarājanamamaṇḍalopāyikā.*

(b) Cycle of *Cakrasamvāra* :

1. *Adhiśekavidhikrama,*
2, *Śrīcakrasamvāramaṇḍalamaṅgalagāthā.*
3. *Śrīcakrasamvāramaṇḍaladevagaṇastotra,* and
4. *Śrī Cakrasamvārastotra.*

(c) Cycle of *Guhyasamāja* :

1. *Akṣobhyavajrasādhana.*

(d) Cycle of *Hevajra* :

1. *Balikarmakrama*,
2. *Śrihevajrastotra*, and
3. *Sarvapāpaśuddhanāgnipūjāsamādhi*.

(e) Cycle of *Mahāmāyā* :

1. *Mahāmāyāsādhanā*,
2. *Meghālokagaṇapatisādhanā*,
3. *Śrināthacaturmukhastotra*,
4. *Mantrarājasamayasiddhisādhanā*,
5. *Āryajanbhālastotra*, and
6. *Śricakrasamvārādvayavirasādhanā*.

He also composed *Vajravidāraninārnadhāraṇimaṇḍalagāthākramaprakriya*. There exist several other works which are reported to have either been composed or translated by *Ratnāvajra*.[82]

Jñānaśribhadra : *Jñānaśribhadra* or *Jñānaśri* belonged to Kashmir. The *Blue Annals* state that *Jñānaśri* was introduced to the doctrine of *Maitreya* by *Sajjana*. According to the same authority, he went to Tibet without having been invited there. He had for his pupil and assistant *Phags-pa śes-rab*, who belonged to *Zaṅs-dkar*. *Jñānaśri* played an important role in spreading of the logic and of the *Abhisamaya* in Tibet. In Western Tibet, he accomplished an important task as an translator-interpreter. In the upper valley of the River Spiti, he settled at the monastery of *Tabo* which was founded by *Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po*, the great Tibetan scholar. He acquired good knowledge of Tibetan language within three years. *Ñi-ma śes-rab* of *Gñal*, studied under him the *Mantrayāna* for seven years.

Jñānaśri is the author of several important works, viz, :

1. The *Āryālaṅkāvatāravṛtti* in seven *Parivarta* being a commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*,
2. The *Pramāṇaviniścayatikā* commentary to the famous treatise of *Dharmakirti*,
3. The *Āryaprajñāpāramitanayaśatapañcāśatakatikā*,

4. The *Bhagavatiprājñāpāramitāhṛdayavyākhyā*, a commentary to the *Hṛdayasūtra*,
5. The *Sūtrālaṅkārapindārtha*,
6. The *Kāryakāraṇābhāvasiddhi*, and
7. *Āryamañjughoṣastuti duṣkaramaviseṣapravartananayamala*.

He is reported to have composed some minor *tantric* texts also.

Jñānaśri translated, with '*Phags-pa śes-rab*, the *Mūlatantrasaṅgrahahṛdalyābhidhānottaratantramūlavṛtti* of *Suramgamavajra*. In co-operation with *Chos-kyi brcon-yrus*, he translated his *Pramāṇaviniścayatikā* and *Sūtrālaṅkārapiṇḍārtha*. With *Rab-zi bśeṣ-gñen* of *Cog-gru*, he translated the *Vajravidāraṇisādhanā* of the Kashmiri *Gangādhara* and connected taxts edited by*Maṇivajra* and himself. *Jñānaśri* together with *Rab-zi bśes gñen* and *Blo-gros sñiṅ-po*, put into Tibeten the *Śilasamvārasamayāvirodha*. With the assistance of *Rgyal-ba śes-rab* and *Śā-kya bśes-gñen*, he corrected the Tibeten version of the *Vinayasamgraha* and, with the help of *Dge-va'i blo-gros*, he translated the *Vādanyāyaprakarana*.[83]

Janārdana : *Janārdana* was another Kashmiri collaborator of *Rin-chen bzam-po* referred to above. He also collaborated with *Śākya blo-gros*. In Tibet, he received the title of '*Kha-che pan-chen*' (*Kasmirapandita*) and *Upādhyāya* grammarian.

With *Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po*, he translated the following works :

1. *Aṣṭāngahṛdayasamhita* of *Vāgbhaṭa*,
2. *Aṣṭāngahṛdayavivṛtti* of *Candranandana* (a Kashmiri medical doctor of 10th century),
3. *Prātimokṣabhāṣya*, commentary of the *Prātimokṣamūlāgama* entitled *Asampramuṣitasmaraṇamātralekha* (from an unknown author).
4. *Tattvasārasaṅgraha* of *Dharmendra*.

Together both translated some short texts including some hymns and their commentaries.

In collaboration with *Śākya blo-gras, Jānārdana* translated first 32 *Jātakas* of the *Jātakamālā* of *Ārya Śūra* and *Udānāvargavivaraṇa* of *Prajñāvarman.*[84]

Lakṣmī : Kashmir has produced a great nun named *Lakṣmi.* She is known in Tibeten as *dge-sloṅ-ma Dpal-mo.* She taught *Anuttaratantra* to *Karopa*, the disciple of *Maitripā* (born 1007 or 1010 A.D.). She had been personally blessed by *Ārya Avalokiteśvara* (the great compassionate one) and preached the ritual of propitiating *Ārya Avalokiteśvarā* by performing the rite of fasting. She taught it to the *Pandita, Ye-Śeṣ bzaṅ-Po* (*Jñānabhadra*). He name is found at the top of the lineage of the 'detailed exposition' of the cycle of *Mahākāruṇika.* In this lineage she is seen to have imparted this exposition to *dpal-gyi bzaṅ-Po* (Śrībhadra)

This great nun is the author of some works as well. In *Bstan—'gyur* there exists a *Pañcakramatikā*, entitled *Kramārthaprakāśikā*, which is attributed to her. There exist some texts dedicated to *Avalokiteśvara* which according to the colophone are the compositions of the *Bhikṣuṇī Lkṣmī.* These include :

1. The *Lokeśvarastotra*,
2. The *Ekādaśamukhāvalokiteśvarasya*,
3. The *Āryāvalokiteśvarasyā stotra*,
4. The *Āryāvalokiteśvarastotra*, and
5. The *Mahākāruṇikastotra*,[85]

Subhūtiśrīśānti : *Subhūtiśrīśānti* was known in Tibet as *Kha-Che-Pan-Chen* (a great *Pandita* of Kashmir). This learned scholar of Kashmir was invited to Tibet by *Iha-bla-ma* (royal monk) *Ye-śes-'od*, (11th century A.D.) the king of Western Tibet (the grandson of *Ñi-ma-mgon* who himself was the great grandson of *Glañ-Dar-ma*).

Subhūtiśrī translated in Tibet many *Sūtras* and *Śāstras* of the *Prajñāpāramitā* class, viz., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, its great commentary the *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāratīka.* According to Cordier's catalogue, *Subhūtiśrī* further translated, with the assistance of *Śākya blo-gros*, the *Sārothama*, the *Pañjika* of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (edited by the *Mahāpanḍitu Rājācārya Ratnākaraśānti*). With the assistance

of *Dge-ba'i blo-gros*, he translated *Suddhimati*, the *Panjika* of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. *Subhūtiśrī* has also translated the *Prajñāpāramitabhāvanopadeśa*,

In collaboration with *Dge-ba'i blo-gros*, *Subhūtiśrī* translated some important works on logic which were undertaken at the order of *Byaṁ-Chub'od* (the king of Western Tibet). These works include :

1. The *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* being a self commentary on *Pramāṇavārttika* by *Devendrabuddhi*,
2. The *Pramāṇavārttikatika* by Sakyabuddhi, and
3. The *Pramāṇavārttikatikā*.
4. The *Mañjusrivajrasadhana*, a tantric text.

Wihth Tin-ne jin bzañ—Po, Subhūtiśrī corrected the Tibetan translation of *Śāmbandhaparikṣāprakaraṇa* and translated :

1. *Yuktiprayoga* of the Kashmiri *Ratnavajra*,
2. The *Sahajaratisamyoga*, and
3. The *Śrīcakrasamvārādvayavirasādhanā* of *Ratnavajra*.

With the same collaborator, *Subhūtiśrī* translated some works of the *Kālacakra* cycle, viz : The *Lakṣābhidhānoddhṛta laghutantrāpiṇḍārthavarṇa* and *Sadaṅgayogā*. Both the works are attributed to the *Boddhi-sattva Vajrapāṇi*.

Subhūtiśrī also corrected the translation of the *Hevajra-piṇḍārthatikā* done by *Maitrī-Pā* and *Śeṣ-rab grags-pa*.[86]

Somanātha : *Somanātha*, a well-known Buddhist preacher of 11th century, according to the *Blue Annals*, belonged to a *brāhmaṇa* family of Kashmir. He aptly followed his father's doctrine during his very young age. His mother introduced him to Buddhism. He studied under a Kashmiri *brāhmaṇa* scholar, named *bzaṅ-Po* (*Bhadra*) or *Sūryaketu* (*Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan*). Other co-mates of *Somanātha* were *Pandita Sonasati*, *Lākṣmikara*, *Dānaśrī*, *Candrarāhula*, etc. When all were studying under *Sūryaketu*, *Pandita Vinayākaramati* sent to them *Sekoddeśa* and *Sekaprakriya*. All were filled with wonder after reading them. But the effect was particularly apparent on *Somanātha*; at once he discontinued his studies in Kashmir and proceeded in search of a capable

teacher who could teach him the *Kālacakra* system. Reaching Magadha he met (*Dus—'Khorba*) *Kālacakrapāda*, the junior, who instructed him in the system. Thus, he accomplished the study of the complete commentary of the *Kālacakra*. He obtained scholarship over the *Tantra* itself alongwith its precepts and the initiation rite. He intended to spread the system in Tibet, and when he reached Tibet the native people made provisions for him and subsidised his translation work as well. He completed the translation of *Kālacakra* within one year. Many Tibetan translators (*lo-ca-ba*) and scholars invited *Somanātha* to their residence in order to receive instructions from him. *Somanātha* is said to have returned to India for a short visit to remove his doubts from his teachers and initiators concerning the *Kālacakra*.

When *Somanātha* arrived in Tibet for the second time, *Kalyānamitra Dkon-mchog-brun* of *Plan yul* and his disciple attended on him for a considerable time and thus pleased him. He, in his turn, bestowed on them the explanation of the *Tantra* and its commentary (*Vimalaprabha*). He specially bestowed on them the precepts which had not been given to other Tibeten scholars. Thus was proceeded further the system in Tibet through *Kalyānamitra* of *Phan-yul* and his disciple.

Besides *Kālacakra*, *Somanātha* preached the secret meaning of the *Pradīpodyatana* in Tibet and taught *Prajñānāmamūlamādhyamakakārikā* to *rtse-ba śeṣ-rab*. Having mastered Tibeten language also, he translated *Śrīparamārthaseva* of *Jñānavajra*, perhaps without the help of an interpreter.

Somanātha also translated many important texts dealing with *Kālacakra* with the assistance of the *śeṣ-rab grags*; these include :

1. The *Paramādibuddhoddhṛtaśrī kālacakranāmatantrarāja*.
2. The *Vimalāprabhānāma mūlatantrānusāriṇi dvadaśasahasrikā laghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā*.

The Sanskrit text of this work is preserved in manuscript form in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

3. The *Padminināmapañjikā* of *Kālacakrapādā*,
4. The *Sekoddeśa*,
5. The *Sekoddeśatikā*,
6. The *Śrinakṣatramaṇḍasādhanā ekādaśāṅga nāme* of *Kālacakrapāda*,
7. The *Tattvagarbha sādhanā* attributed to *Vajrapāṇi* (belonging to *Sambāra* cycle),
8. The *Tattvāloku* astributed to *Lokanātha* (belonging to the *Hevajra* cycle),
9. The *Sekaprakriyā* (dealing with the ritual of initiation),
10. The *Kālacakrapādasampradāya*,
11. The *Triyogahṛdayavyākaraṇa* of *Mañjughoṣakirti*, and
12. The *Sāhajasiddhi*.[87]

Mahājana : *Mahājana* was the son of the great Kashmiri Buddhist master *Ratnavajra*.[88] He worked as a collaborator with *Mar-pa*, (*Lāmā* of Tibet) and authored *Prajñāpāramitāh-rdayārthparijñāna*, being a commentry on the *Prajñāpāramit-āhṛdayasūtra*. With the help of Tibetan translator, named *Seṅ-ge rgyal-mchan*, he translated his own works and a treatise of *Vijñānavāda*, i.e., the *Dharmādharmtāvibhaṅgakārikā* attributed to *Maitreys*. He translated the *Vṛtti* of this text by *Vasubandhu* in collaboration with *Blo-ldam śeṣ-rab*. He also translated three works of his father, *Ratnavajra*, viz, :

1. The *Śricakrasamvāramaṇḍaladevagāṇastotra*,
2. The *Śricakrasamvārastotra*, and
3. *Āryajambhālastopra*.

He also translated a letter of his son *Sajjana*[89] which the latter had written to his son *Sūkṣamājana*.[90] With the assistance of *Gzon-nu 'od*, *Mahājāna* translated majority of works connected with the *Nāmasaṅgitiyogatantrā*, vtz, :

1. *Āryamañjuśrināmāsamgitisādhanā*,
2. *Āryamañjuśrināmasamgitimaṇḍalapāyikā*.
3. *Āryamañjuśrināmasamgitisarvamaṇḍalastotra*,

4. *Viṃśatyākārābhisamabhikrameṇā bhagavānmañjnśrī-sādhanā,*
5. *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgitināmavṛtti*, and
6. *Āryamañjuśrīmaṇḍalaviddhi cintāmaṇināma.*

Two more works which he translated with the help of *Gzon-nu 'od*, include :

1. *Āryāmāyājālakrameṇa tārābhaṭṭārikāsādhānā*, and
2. *Sadaksaratantrakrameṇa maṇḍalacakropadeśasādhanā.*

Mahājana also translated the *Vinaya* text, *Śrāmanera-śikṣāpadāsūtra* of *Kalyānamitra*, in collaboration with the Tibetan interpreter, *Gzon-nu-mchog.*[91]

Sūkṣmajana : *Sūkṣmajana* was the son of *Sajjanā.* He was the last Kashmiri in the line of great Buddhist preceptors commencing from *Rātnavajra.*[92] He collaborarted with the great Tibetan translator *Ñi-ma-grags* and together they accomplished the interpretation of the *Bodhisattvayogacaryā-catuhśatakakārikā* attributed to *Āryadeva* and its *tikā* by *Candrakirti.*[93]

Parahitabhadrā : *Parahitabhabra*, the Kashmir Buddhist master, is known in Tibetan as *Gzan-la phān-bzaṅ-po.* He was a pupil of *Mahāpāndita Somaśrī*[94] of Kashmir. Under *Ratnavājra*, he studied the *Prasannapāda* and the *Mādhyamakāvatārabhāṣya.* These two treatises he himself confided to his students—*Mahāsumati* of Kashmir and the great Tibetan translator *Ñi-ma-graga* of *Pa-cheb.* To the latter goes the credit of introducing these treatises in Tibet. Another great Tibtan translator of the noble family of *Rṅog*, named *Blo-lban śeṣ-rab*, while in Kashmir studied under *Parahita* also. *Parahitā* collaborated with several well-known Tibetan interpreters. For instance, he collaborated with the *Phags-pa śeṣ-rab*, who was a pupil and assistant of *Jñānaśrībhadra* and with another famous interpreter *śeṣ-rab rgyal-mchan*, who assisted *Atiśa* as well.

Parahita performed many activities at *Tho-liṅ* in Western Tibet also, where he collaborated with *Gzon-nu mchog* and *Dge '-bardo-rje. Parahita* is also famous as a great

logician but there exists only one work on logic translated by him, i.e., the *Sambandhayarikṣānusāra*. Intresting himself in other spheres, *Pārahita* composed a short text on ritual, the *Maṇḍalābhiśekāvidhi*. He also composed two philosphical commentaries, viz, :

1. The *Śūnyatāsaptativivṛtti*, and
2. The *Śūtrālaṅkārādiślokadvayākhyāna*, being a commentary on the two initial *ślokas* of the *Mahāyānasūtralaṇkāra*.

In association with the interpreter *Phags-pa śeṣ-rab*, he translated two texts of *Sambārā* series. These are :

1. *The Piṇḍārthaprakāśikā*, and
2. *Yoginisancāryatantranibandha padārthaprakāśanāma* by *Viravājra*.

At *Tho-lin*, he is said to have translated his own writings in association with *Gzon-nu mchog* and many other works with *śeṣ-rab rgyal-mchan*.[95]

Bhavyarāja : *Bhavyārāja* was a Buddhist logician of Kashmir. He was the principal collaborator of *Blo-ldan śeṣ-rab*. With this great translator, he interpreted texts on logic at *Cakradhara* (near modern town of Bijbihara) and at the *Ratnaraśmivihāra* at *Groṅ-khyer dpe-med* (Anupamapura). Together they translated two works of *Dharmottara*, *viz*., the *Apohaprakaraṇa* and the *Kṣanabhaṅgasiddhi* and also the *Pratibandhasiddhi* of *Śāṅkarānanda*. Both re-arranged the interpretation of the *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā* which was earlier done by *Subhūtiśrīśānti* and *Dge-ba 'i blo-gros*. At *Cakradhara*, they translated the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* of *Prajñākaragupta*. For this enormous enterprise *Bhavyarāja* received the title '*dpal-ldan kha-che 'i rigs-pa yigcng-gi nor-bu skal-ldan rgyal-po*' (*Śrīmat kaśmiranyāyacūdāmaṇi Bhabyarāja*).[96]

Kumāraśri : *Kumāraśri* was a learned scholar. The revision of the translation of the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* of *Prajñākāragupta* was accomplished undes the control of *Kumārāśrī* along with another Kashmiri named *Sūnayaśrī*. They were helped by the *Pandits* arriving from *Vikramaśila* and it was done in the presence of masters from *Dbus*, from

Gcaṅ, from ***Ru-bzi***, from *Khams*, from ***Mṅā-ris*** and from China. The place where these activities were performed was ***Tho-lin*** in Western Tibet at the *Vihāra* of ***Dpal Dpe-med lhun-gyis grub-pa*** (*Śrī Anupamanirābhogavihāra*).[97]

Tilakakalaśa : *Tilakakalśa* or *Tilakalaśa* is known in Tibetan as ***Thig-le bum-pā***. The name is sometimes rendered as *Bindukalaśa*. He occupied himself mostly in the *Mādhya-mika* philosophy, and composed four *hymns*. He collaborated with ***Ñi-ma grags*** and *Blo-ldan śes-rab*.

Before going to Tibet, he translated in Kashmir, with *Ñi-ma grāgs* the *Mādhyamakāvatāra* of *Candrakirti* and the self-commentary in 3550 *ślokas*. Together, both re-arranged the translation of the *Mādhyamakāvatārākārikā* done by *Kṛṣṇapāda* and *Chul-khrims rgyal-pa*. They also translated *Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalopāyikāviṃśavidhi* of *Nāgabodhi*. The work is attached to the school of the *Guhyasamāja* of *Nāgārjuna*.

In collaboration with *Blo-ldan śes-rab*, *Tilakakalaśa* reviewed the interpretation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of *Śāntideva* done by *Dānaśila*, *Jinamitra* and ***Ye-śes sde*** during the 9th century. Together they also translated two texts dealing with the *Prajñāpāramita* ('Perfection of Wisdom') in 8000 stanzas. The texts include : *Āryaprajñāpāramitāsaṃgrahakārikā* of *Dignāga*, also known as *Aṣṭasāhasrikāpiṇḍārtha*, and its commentary in 540 *ślokas* by *Triratnadāsa*. He also translated the following fifteen hymns :

1. The *Vāgīśvarastotra*,
2. The *Āryamañjuśrīstotra*,
3. The *Āryavāgīśvarastotra*.
4. The *Lokeśvarasiṃhanāda nāma stora*,
5. *Prajñāpāramitastotra*,
6. *Acintyastava*,
7. *Stutyatītastava*,
8. *Niruttarastava*,
9. *Āryabhattārakamañjuśrīparmārhastuti*,
10. *Āryamañjuśrībhattārakakaruṇāstotra*,
11. *Aṣṭamahāsthanacaityastotra*

12. *Aṣṭamahāsthanacaityastotra*,
13. *Dvādaśakāranayastotra*,
14. *Vandanāstotra*, and
15. *Narakoddhāra*.

Of the these, the first four are attributed to *Tilakakalaśa* himself and the rest to *Nāgārjuna*[98].

Kanakavarman : *Kanakavarmān* was a Kashmiri *Bhikṣu* who is known through his works on *Mādhyamika* philosophy and *prajñāpāramitaśāstra*. He collaborated with *Rin-chen-bzaṅ po* (958-1055 A.D.) in Tibet in translating the *Śrīsarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi* of *Ānandagarbha*. At *Lhasa* he translated, in collaboration with *Ñ-ma-grags*, *Sragdharāstotra* of *Sarvajñēmitra* and both corrected the following important translations in the *vihāra* of *Ra-mo-che* at *Lhasa* :

1. *Prasannapāda* of *Candrakirti*.
2. *Mādhyamahāvatāra* of *Candrakīrti*, and
3. *Bodhicittavivarṇa* of *Nāgārjuna*

Kanakavarman stayed in the *Pu-raṅ*s situated 'on the slopes of the *Ri-bo chen-po-spos-kyi nd ldaṅ-ba*' (i.e., *Gandhamādānamahāgiri*), where he translated the commentry of the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Lakaṣaṇānusāriṇī* by *Pūrnavardhana*. This most considerable task was accomplished in the company of *Ñi-ma-grags*. *Kanakavraman* translated the *Pramāṇasamuccya* of *Dignāga*, in collaboration with *Dad-pa'i ses-rab*, and thus ranking among the interpreters of logic too. The other works he translated in collaboration with *Ñi-ma-grags* include :

1. *Rājaparikathā ratnāvali*,
2. *Pratiṣṭhāvidhisaṃkṣepa* of *Śradhākaravarman*, and
3. *Ratnasūkośa* of *Nāgārjunagarbha* (text presented as *mādhyamika*).

Lastly *Kanakavarman* collaborated with *Chos-'bar* (1044-1089 A.D.) and together both made the Tibetan version of *Cittaparikṣā* of *Āryaśila*[99].

Jayānada : *Jayānada* a native of Kashmir was another amongst the assistants of the great Tibetan translator *N̄i-ma grags.* His name and career are constantly associated with that of the Tibetan translator of *Khu* named *Mdo-Sde 'bar* (1070-1141 A.D.)

The *Blue Annals* record that he was a reincarnation of the king *Sroṅ-bcan sgam-Po* and disciple of *Kālacakrāpāda*, junior. He was also known, in Tibet, as the *Kha-Cha Pan-chen* (great Kashmiri *pandita*).

Jayānanda mostly occupied himself with the *Madhya-mika* philosophy especially on the *Mādhyamakāvatāra* of *Candrakīrti*. He edited a *ṭikā* of it, i.e.. the *Arthaprakāśika*. He further translated this *ṭīkā* into Tibetan in the company of *Kun-dge'grags* at the *Vihāra of Khyad-par-mkhar-sku*, in *Chan-Si*. Another work dealing with the *Mādhyamika* philosophy, composed and translated by him is *Tarkamudga-rakārikā*. A commentary on it was edited by a student of *Jayānanda*, named *Rma-bya Byan-Chub ye-Śes*, alongwith *Khu-Ston* and a great specialist on *Mādhyamika* philosophy.

Jayānanda translated *Sūtrasamuccayā* of *Atiśa* in collaboration with *N̄i-ma-grags* and *Mdo-Sde' bar*. He is reported to have translated some work of *Nāgārjuna* as well.[100]

Kumāraprajñā : *Kumāraprajñā* was a monk of Kashmir who worked as an assistant of *Jayānanda* in the beginning of 12th century. He was the copyist of the *Sūtrasamuccāyapari-kathā* and translated *Akṣardśataka* and its *Vṛtti* at *Gron-Khyer dye-med* (*Anupamāpura*)[101].

Guṇākaraśrībhadra : *Guṇakarasrībhadra* was a Kashmiri Buddhist belonging to a monastery of *Groṅ-Khyer dpe-mad* (*Anupamapurā*). He had the honour of being the teacher (*guru*) of *lha bla-ma zi-ba'od* (a king of Western Tibet, 11th-12th century A.D.) With his royal pupil, he translated a text of *hetuvidya*, the *Tattvasāṅgrahakārikā* of *Śāntirakṣita*. He translated the *Boddhicittavivarṇa* of *Nāgarjuna* in colla-boration with *Rab-zi h'ses-gñen* of *Cog-gru*[102].

Sugataśri : *Sugataśri* was a Kashmir *Pandit* who was invited by a scholar of *gN̄ags* to *Yar-Kluṅs* (in Tibet). He be-came a teacher of a native of *mNa'-ris* named *Byan-Chub-dge-myes* (born in 1084 A.D.). *Sugataśri* taught him the *Prajñāpā-*

ramita and also the five treatises of the *bhaṭṭāraka Maitreya.*

Sugataśri, in co-operation with *Kun-dga 'rgyal-mchan*, translated *Mahātmakirtidhvajastotra* and with *Khro-Phu*, he translated the *svapnatārapāyika* of *Candramitra*. He also translated *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasamgitivṛtti amṛtabinḍupratālo-kanamā*[103].

Śākyaśribhadra : *Śākyaśribhadra*[104] was last of the Kashmiri scholars who acquired great fame in Buddhist learning. He was born in 1127 A.D. He went to *Vikrāmaśila* for his studies where he became the student of *Śubhākara*. According to Rahul Sankrtyayana[105], he received initiation (*dīksha*) at the hands of *Sukhaśri* and studied under many teachers, viz., *Ravigupta*, *Chandragupta*, *Vikhyatadeva*, *Vinayaśrī*, *Abhayakirti*, and *Raviśrījñāna*. He became a great scholar of his time and received the honour of becoming the teacher of the king of *Magadhā*. He was appointed to the highest post of the *Vikramaśila mahāvihāra.*

It was after the raid of *Muhammād ibn-Bakhtyār* (about 1197 A.D.) who destroyed the two great universities of *Nalanda* and *Vikramaśila*, that *Śākyaśribhadra* went to *Jagaddala* (Bengal) and stayed there for three years. But on the fall of that state also, *Śākyaśri* went to Nepal. In Nepal, he lived with nine *Pandits*, such as *Pandit Vibhūtichandra* and *Dānaśila* of *Jagāddala*; *Saṅghaśri* of Nepal; and *Sugataśri*, etc. The Tibetan scholar called *Khro-Phu*, who later wrote a biography of *Śākyaśri*, also met him in Nepal. It was at the request of *Khro-phu* that *Śākyaśri* went to Tibet in 1200 A.D. According to Rahul Sankrtyayane[106] and the *Blue Annals*,[107] he lived in Tibet for ten years. He worked intensively with Tibetain scholars and travelled about in order in to visit some monasteries. He was simply known as *Kha-Che Pan-Chen* the great *Pandit* from Kashmir in Tibet. He had a considerable disciplinary importance in introducing the third tradition (of the *Vinaya*) in Tibet. Among his students noteworthy are : *Sa-Skya Pan-Chen* (the great *Paṅdita* of *Sa-Skya*) named *Kun-dga 'rgyal-mchan* (1182-1251 A.D.); *Byaṅ-chub dpal* (1196-1331 A.D.) and *Chos-rje dpal* 1196-1264 A.D.). In the monastery of *Sa-Sky*, *Śākyaśri* functioned as the superior of the monestery. He worked extensively particularly with

Khro-Phu with whose assistance he did a majority of his translations. *Śākyaśrī* translated majority of his own writings and also some other minor works. Some works which he translated include :

1. *Vajrapādasārasamgrahapañjikā* of *Nāropā*,
2. The *Yuganaddhapaprakāśa nāmasekaprakrityā* of *Rāhuiaśrimitra*,
3. The *Śrīmañjuvajrādikramābhisamaysamuccya niśpanna-yogāvalī nāma* of *Abhayākaragupta.*

Śākyaśrī also corrected translations of some works, *viz.*,

1. *Śrisampuṭatantrajātikā āmñyamañjari nāma of Abhayā-karagupta* done by *Buddhakirti*, *and*
2. The *Pramāṇavārttikakārīkā* of *Dharmakirti*.

Nostalgia for his native province made *Śākyaśrī* to come back to Kashmir where he died in 1225 A.D. at the age of 98 years. He did his best to restore the waning faith in the valley as is indicated from the following quotation cited by Jean Naudou[108] : "Although the doctrine was being spread in Kashmir, the monks were very few. The master of the Law (that is to say, *Śākyaśrī*) increased the number of the monks and of the *Sūtra*. The king, who had become a heretic, was re-established in the doctrine, the *Mahāpandita* restore the *Vihāra* and the ruined statues".

Śākyaśrī is only an author of minor texts. His activities mostly deal with the *Kālacakrā*, the *Nāmasaṅgiti* and the cult of *Tārā*. As stated in the *Blue Annals* (p. 760) his name occures in the fourth lineage of the *Kālacakra*, Same authority quotes (p. 35): "the prophecy of *Tārā* to *Śākyaśrī* about his becoming the *Buddha Bhāgirathī* of the *Bhadrakalpa* (i.e., one of the thousand Buddhas of the *Bhadrakālpa*)". He was the last Indian to transmit the ritual of *Tārā* expounded by *Ravigupta* and he was the last also in transmission of the *Pramāṇavārtika*. His works include :

(a) Cycle of the *Kālacakra* :

1. *Śrīkālacakrāgaṇanopadeśa*,

2. *Śrikālacakragaṇanopadeśa*
3. *Pāñcagrahapratigñānopadeśa*,
4. *Pañcagrahapratigaṇanopadeśa*, and
5. *Vajrapādagarbhasaṃgraha pañjika*.

(b) Cycle of the *Tārā* :

1. *Āryatārābhaṭṭārikopadeśāśrāyāsānāmaraṇām-nāya*, and
2. *Āryatārāsadhanā*.

(c) Cycle of *Avalokiteśvara*,

1. *Siṃhanādrokṣācakra*,
2. *Samkṣiptāmoghapāśasādhanā*,
3. *Amoghapāśabalividhi*, and
4. *Āryāmoghapāśapoṣadhavidhyāmnāya*.

(d) Cycle of the *Utpādanakrama* ;

1. *Viśuddhārśanacaryopadeśa*.

(e) Cycle of *Nāmasaṃgiti* :

1. *Nāmasaṃgītivacanopadeśa*.

(f) Cycle of *Mañjuśrī* :

1. *Mañjuśrikālacakra*.

(g) Cyele of *Maitreya* :

1. *Āryamaitreyasādhanā*.

(h) Cycle of *Jambhāla* :

1. *Āryakṛṣṇajambhālasādhanā*.

(i) Other texts :

1. *Maṇḍalavidhi*,
2. *Saptāṅgasaddharmacaryāvatāra*,
3. *Bodhisattvamārgākramasamgraha*,
4. *Mahāyānopadeśagāthā*, and
5. *Kālapūjāmahācaātuṣkakārikā* (a hymn).

Sarvajñāśrīrakṣita : *Sarvajñāśrīrakṣita* is known in Tibetan as *Thans-Cad mkhyen dpal bsrun-ba*. He belonged to Kashmir and worked at *Sa-Skya* monestery in Western Tibet. He translated *Nyāyapraveśa nāma Pramāṇaprakaraṇa* in collaboration with the *Grags-pa rgyal-mchan dpal bzan-Po*, probably the fifth descendant of *Sa-Skya* (1147-1216 A.D)[109].

Vimalaśrībhadra : *Vimalaśrībhadra* was a Kashmiri who lived in 14th century. He is the author of following works :

1. *Pañcāśikaṭippaṇī*,
2. *Kulālokeśvarabhyāvanākrama*,
3. *Anujñāptikriyākrama*, and
4. *Paramagurupuṇyaśrīnāmastotra*.

He also translated some works into Tibetan with a famous interpreter called *Blo-gros brtan Pa*, who received the title of '*Skad-gñis smra-ba'i dban-Po*' ('the prince of interpreters'), he translated the *Suvisādāsampuṭa* attributed to *Taṅkādāsa*. This work is an important commentary of the *Hevajratāntra*. With the same collaborator, he translated two of his own works, viz., *Kulālokeśvara bhāvanākrama* and the *Anujñāptikriyakrama*. With another interpreter of *Yar-Kluṅs*, called *Brcon grus gzon-nu*, he translated the *Pañcāśikātippanī*[110].

Dharmadhara : *Dharmadhara* was a Kashmiri who, in collaboration with *Grags-Pa rgyal-mchan* of *Yar-Kluṅs* who was a pupil of '*Śes-rab sen-ge* (1251-1325 A.D.,) translated the following works :

1. *Sekoddeśatika* of *Nāropā*,
2. *Kulālokanāthasādhanāloka* of *Mahiman*,
3. *Jambhālastotra* attributed to *Vikramāditya*,
4. *Sambuddhabhāśitapratimālok samavivarṇa*,
5. *Pratimālakṣana* of the *Mahāśri Atreya*, and
6. *Sāmudrika nāma tanulakṣanaparīkṣā* of *Nārada*[111].

Sumanaśri : *Sumanaśri* was a Kashmiri *Pandita* who expounded the cycle of *Padmajāla* to the great Tibetan scholar *Bu-Ston* (1290-1364 A.D.), with whom he translated the following works :

1. The *Padmajālodbhavasādhanā*.
2. The *Padmāvalohiteśvarasya Padmajālakrameṇa bhagavānmaṇḍalāpūjāvidhi*,
3. *Navaśloka* of *Kambalapāda*, and
4. *Āryasaptaślokikā bhagavatīprajñāpāramitānāma Sūtra*[112].

II.iv. *Some prominent Buddhist Scholārs who studied or worked in Kashmir.*

Nāgārjuna : In the history of Buddhism *Nāgārjuna* as a Buddhist philosopher has few equals. At the same time there has hardly been another personality so elusive as his[113]. The mystification and story building around his name and personality have attained sky high proportions so much so that eminent scholars like Max Walleser have questioned even the existence of *Nāgārjuna*[114].

Nāgārjuna is believed to have been born in South India in a *brāhmāṇa* family, but played a very prominent role in the development of Buddhism in Kashmir. *Kalhāṇā* mentions the name of *Nāgārjuna* who resided at *Sadarhadvanā*, the modern *Harwān*, around 150 years after *Buddha* attained complete beautitude[115]. According to *Yuan Chwang*, *Nāgārjuna* was a contemporary of *Aśvaghosha*[116] who himself was a contemporary of *Kaniṣka*. *Kalhaṇa* also believes that he was a contemporary of *Huṣka*, *Juṣka* and *Kaniṣka*[117]. Ramanan, after considering many corroborating evidences, believes that the upper and lower limits of the philosophical activity of *Nāgārjuna* lay somewhere between 50 A.D. and 120 A.D.[118].

The Chinese sources differ from the Tibetan sources on the question of what led *Nāgārjunā* to the Buddhist order. As per Tibetan accounts, he lived and studied Buddhism at *Nalanda*. He studied all Buddhist texts that were available to him; and not satisfied with them, he wandered in search of other texts[119]. The prevailing tradition, which he could readily obtain, was presumably *Sarvāstivāda* and *Nāgārjuna's* deep study of it is beyond doubt. This is amply borne out by his penetrating understanding and searching criticism of this school in his *Mādhyāmakā Kārikā*[120]. Further, all the accounts

life speak of his having obtained the *Prajñāpāramitasūtra* (*Kumarjiva's Vaipulya sūtra*) from a *Nāga*[121] and these texts satisfied so deeply his quest for "other teachings" of *Buddha* that he devoted his whole life to teach and propagate the profound truths contained in them[122]. The fact that *Nāgārjuna* studied deeply the texts belonging to *Sarvāstivāda* school, which flourished in North-Western India, particularly in Kashmir, apparently points to his visiting Kashmir for study. Also, *Nāgas* were the first inhabitants who were initiated to Buddhism in Kashmir by the monk *Madhyāntika*[123]. The report that *Nāgārjuna* received the *Prajnāpāramitāsūtra* from a *Mahānāgā* amply shows his close contact with Kashmir.

The works that can be attributed to *Nāgārjuna*, according to *Venkata Ramanan*[124], may be classified into these broad catagories:

(a) Texts that constitute chiefly a critical examination of other schools, especially of the *Sarvāstivāda* doctrine of elements :

1. *Mādhyamaka-śāstra* (*Mādhyamakā-Kārikā*).
2. *Vigrahavyāvartani*,
3. *Ekaśloka-śāstra*, and
4. *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra*,
5. *Śūnyatāsaptāti* also perhaps belongs to this class.

(b) Texts chiefly expository :

1. *Pratītyāsamutpāda-hṛdaya-śāstra* is an exposition of the twelve linked chain of the course of phenomenal existence, which constitutes the subject matter of *Kārikā* xxvi
2. *Yukti-ṣastikā* is a short compendium on the basic tenets of *Mahāyāna*,
3. *Bodhisattva-Pātheya-śāstra* is a short exposition of the factors of the Great Way.

(c) Commentaries or/and Records of Oral Instruction (*Upadeśa*) :

1 *Mahāprajñāpāramita-śāstra*, and

2. *Daśabhūmi-vibhāsā-śāstrā* are the two important works that belong to this class,
3. *Bhavasaṅkrānti-śāstra*, and
4. *Āryadharmadhātu-garbha-vivaraṇa* also perhaps belong here,
5. perhaps *Vaidalya* which has a *Sūtra* and a *Prakaraṇa* also belong here.

(d) Devotional verses :

1. *Niraupamya-stava*,
2. *Lokatika-stava*,
3. *Acintya-stava*,
4. *Stutyatikā-stava*,
5. *Parāmārtha-stava*, and
6. *Dharmadhātu-stava*.

(e) Letters :

1. *Suhṛllekhā*, and
2. *Ratnāvali*.

(f) To these there can perhaps be added the *collection of Sūtras* (*Sūtrasamuccaya*) on the authority of *Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra* : the work is, however, not extant.

(g) *Chittasantoṣa triṃśikā* and *Paramārcanatriṃśikā*[125] also, are attributed to *Nāgārjuna*. These *triṃśikās* indicate deep influence of *Śaivā* philosophy on him, and a further proof of his close contact with Kashmir.

Kumārajiva : Celebrated Buddhist scholar *Kumārajiva's* biography is preserved in a Chinese work called *Kāo seng tehoam* (ch. II), which was compiled in 519 A.D. The other Chinese sources which also furnish life accounts of *Kumārajiva* are *Tch'ou san tsang ki si*, compiled in 520 A.D.[126] and *ciu-mo-lo-shi* of uncertain date.[127]

Kumārajiva's father *Kamārāyana* (*Kiu-mo-yen*), a native of Kashmir, exercised the rights of hereditary ministers in an

Indian state. Renouncing his claim to ministership, *Kumārāyana* became a Buddhist monk. He left India for *Kūchā* in central Asia and was received well by the king. The latter requested him to be his *Rājaguru.* Attaining the position of a royal preceptor, king's sister named *Jīva* fell in love with him and married him. A son was born to them at *Karashahr* in 344 A.D., who was named *Kumārajia*, combining the names of his parents. Soon after *Kumārajīva's* birth his mother *Jīva* was converted to Buddnhism. She turned a nun taking herself the responsibility of her son's up bringing.

Kumārajīva was brought to Kashmir at the age of nine to gain a thorough grounding in Buddhist literature and philosophy. In Kashmir, *Kumārajīva* was entrusted to a *Sarvāstivādin* scholar *Bandhudatta* (*Pān-teon-ta-to*). *Kumārajīva* learnt *Madhyama-āgama* and *Dīrgha-āgama* under his learned teacher. After three years stay in Kashmir, *Kumārajīva* returned to *Kūchā* with his mother. *Kumārajīva's* intellegence and manner won him many admirers among his friends and teachers and it is said that on *Kumārajīva's* departure, many Kashmiri scholars accompanied him to *Kūchā*. On the way he visited several centres of Buddhist studies in Central Asia. While on their journey to *Kūchā*, *Kumārajīva* and his mother met an *arhat* who predicted a great future for *Kumārajīva*. The *arhat* prophesied if the mother guarded her son against the temptations of youth and if he remained blameless till his age of thirty-five years, one day he would be able to propagate the doctrine of the *Buddha* among the common masses and thus bring them salvation. In *Kashgar*, enroute *Kūchā* he studied the *Abhidharma* with six *Pādas*. It was here that he was introduced by *Sūryasoma* (*Sūryasena*) to the *Mahāyāna* doctrine (*Sūryasena* was the propagator of *Nāgārjuna's* theory in Kashmir)[128]. *Kumārajīva* made a special study of the *mādhyamika* treatises. The king of *Kashgar* wanted to retain him in his court but *Kūchean* king sent messengers asking him to return. So *Kumārajīva* was constrained to return and was welcomed by the king personally in *Kūchā*.

At the age of twenty, *Kumārajīva* received regular ordination living in the new convent of the *Kūcheān* king. A Kashmiri *Vinaya* master, *Vimalākṣa*, who travelled from

Kashmir to *Kūchā* and thence to China introduced him to *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*. He studied the *Vinaya* in ten sections in *Kūchā*. Hence *Kumārajiva* acquired great proficiency in all branches of the Buddhist learning and his fame spread far and wide. Buddhists from *Khotan*, *Kashgar*, *Yarkand* and other parts of eastern *Turkestan* were attracted towards him.

While *Kumārājiva* was in *Kūchā*, *Ku-K'ien*-the Chinese emperor of the former *tsin* dynasty, sent an envoy to request *Kūchean* king to send *Kumārajīva* to China. The king refused to send the pious monk. So the Chinese emperor sent his general *Lu-kuang* to subdue *Kūcha*. *Kūchean* king was defeated and *Kumārājīvā* was taken as prisoner to China. *Kumārajīva* was already known to Chinese people. He was brought to Chinese capital *Ch'ang-ngan* in 401 A.D. where he was welcomed by the Chinese Emperor *Yao Hhin* of the second *tsin* dynasty. The Chinese Emperor made him his *Rājaguru* and requested him to propagate the Buddhist faith in his empire. *Kumārajīvā* organised a translation bureau where the Buddhist scriptures were translated into Chinese language. To the bureau eight hundred scholars were attached and a marvellous work of translation was accomplished under *Knmārajīva's* headship. Being himself an ardent follower of the new faith, the king held in his hands the orginal texts as the work of translation was going on. It is reported that under *Kumārajīv's* supervision more than three hundred volumes (works) were translated and *Nanjio's catalogue* attributes fourty-nine works to *Kumārajīva*.

Kumārajīva is found at his best in his translations. He was a man of genius and had command over both the languages i.e., Sanskrit as well as Chinese. He wrote Chinese in a new charming style of his own. His style is considered more beautiful and charming than that of the great Chinese writer *Yuan chwang*. Besides a large number of translation works, two original works, viz., 'a treatise on '*tattva*' in two chapters and a commentary on '*Vimalakīrti Sūtra*' are attributed to *Kumārajīva*. Throughout his stay in China he continued his devotion towards the propagation of Buddhism with his deep knowledge of Buddhist philosophy and its various schools. His activities could work a revolution in the

Buddhist religion and literature in China. He had a large following among the Chinese Buddhists. Some of these became famous authors of Buddhist treatises. Famous Chinese traveller *Fa-hien* also was one of his disciples. It was *Kumārajiva* who advised him (*Fa-hien*) to write his '*account of the Buddhist Kingdoms*'. While *Kumārajiva* was earning a fame in China, his teacher *Vimalākṣā* came to China from *Kūchā*. *Kumārajiva* received his teacher cordially and gave him great respect.

Kumārajivā died in 413 A.D. and while on his death bed he advised his followers to believe his works but not his life. 'The lotus grows in the mud', *Kumārajiva* advised, '*Love the lotus but not the mud*'. He is regarded as the first teacher of *Mādhyamika* doctrine and an expounder of the *Satyasiddhi* school and also of the *Nirvāṇa* school in China.

Vasubandhu : Great Buddhist scholar *Vasubandhu* is a highly reputed personality in the history of Buddhism. Although he was a native of *Gandhara*, he spent a good part of his life in Kashmir. Owing to his colossal and voluminous contribution to Buddhism, *Vasubandhu* is known to us from more than one source. An important and reliable biography of his was written by a noted Buddhist scholar *Paramārtha* in his monumental work '*Life of Vasubandhu*'[129]. Some facts about his life have also been given by *Yuan Chwang* in his travel accounts[130] and by *Tārānātha* in his '*History of Buddhism in India*'[131]. On the basis of these sources a brief account of his life may be given as under :

Ācārya Vasubandhu was a contemporary of *Vikramāditya* (455-480 A.D.) and his son *Bālāditya* (c.485). *J. Takakusu*, however, gives his date as 420-500 A.D. He was born in a *Kauśika brāhmana* family of *Purushapura* (Peshavar) in *Gandhara*. His father was *Kauśika* and his mother *Viriñchi* or *Bilindi*. *Vasubandhu* was second of the three brothers. All the three were called *Vasubandhu*, who were originally adherents of the *Vaibhāṣikas* of the *Sarvāstivāda* school. It was afterwards that the eldest brother came to be known as the great *Ācārya Asaṅga* who propounded the *Yogācāra* school of Buddhist thought. The youngest brother was known as *Viriñcivatsa* or *Bilindibhava* after his mother's name. The

middle one simply remaned *Vasubandhu* but became one of the most prominent figures in the history of Buddhism.

According to *Yuan Chwang*, he was studying in the monastery of *Gandhara* where he studied under the teacher named *Manoratha*. According to *Paramārtha*, in his young age *Vasubandhu* went to *Ayodhya* where he received ordination in *Hīnayāna* Buddhism from *Sthavira Buddhamitra*. Living there in a monastery he studied Buddhist Philosophy. It was in *Ayodhya* where *Vasubandhu* composed many *Hinayāna* and *Mahāyāna* works. He travelled to different centres of study and pilgrimage and contacted distinguished scholars

Tārānātha, while giving a detailed discription of *Vasubandhu*, states that he received ordination in *Nalanda* where he studied thoroughly the three *Piṭakas of* the *Sarvāstivādins*. From here he went to Kashmir to acuquire thorough understanding in the *Abhidharma*. According to *Tārānātha*, in Kashmir he mainly studied under *Ācārya Saṅghbhadra*. He studied *Vibhāṣās*. *Sūtras*, *Vinayas* and the six systems of philosophy. He studied all the *śāstras* belonging to the eighteen schools of Buddhism and learnt the art of dialectics and thus became a great scholar. *Tārānātha* adds that in Kashmir *Vasubandhu* explained the *Piṭakas* for a number of years distinguishing between what was right and wrong in them.

Vasubandhu again went to *Ayodhya* and composed there *Abhidharmakośa-śastra* consisting of 600 aphorisms of verses (*Kārikās*). It is a commentary on *Kātyāyaniputra's Jñānaprasthānaśāstra*. *Vasubandhu* sent his work to Kashmir *Vaibhāṣikas* who, at first, were greatly pleased to have it. However, they could not understand its aphorisms, being very terse. They requested *Vasubandhu* to explain to them the object of his work. In the meantime *Vasubandhu* had become attached to *Sautrāntika* school. Thus, while explaining the aphorisms in a prose treatise called *Abhidharmakośābhāṣya*, he criticised some doctrines of the Kashmir *Vaibhāṣikas* in the light of the Philosophy of *Sautrāntikas*. Kashmir *Vaibhāṣikas* regarded it as an insult to them and *Saṅghabhadra* wrote a treatise refuting *Vasubandhu's* work. However, inspite of criticism of Kashmis *Vaibhāsikas*, *Abhi-*

dharmakośa received great reputation and became popular among the adherents of both vehicles—the *Hīnayāna* and the *Mahāyāna*. In the words of Winternitz—"Though the *Abhidharmakośa* is written from the standpoint of the *Sarvāstivāda* school of the *Hīnayāna*, it is nevertheless an authority for all schools of Buddhism. We can learn far more from the *kośa*, with its commentary, about the dogmatics of the ancient Buddhist schools, than from any other work, and it affords us a sidelight upon the doubts between *Vaibhāṣikas* and the *Sautrāntikas*".

Another important work which he composed in *Ayodhya* was *Paramārtha-Saptati*—('Seventy verses on the Highest Truth'). It was composed in order to refute the *Sānkhya-Saptati* of the heretic *Vindhyavāsa*.

Reaching the second stage of his Philosophical development, *Vasubandhu* was converted to *Mahāyānism* by *Ācārya Asaṅga*—his elder brother. The story of his conversion to *Mahāyānism* runs thus: Once *Vasubandhu* read the *Yogācāra-bhūmi*—a *Mahāyāna* treatise. Failing to understand it he said something sarcastic about his brother *Asaṅga*—the author of the treatise. *Asaṅga* thought it the proper time to convert him. He made two monks to memorise one *Sūtra* each—the *Akṣayamati-nirdeśasūtra* and the *Daśabhūmi-Sūtra*. These two monks were sent to *Vasubandhu* with instruction to recite first the *Aksayamati-Sūtra* and after that the *Daśabhūmi-Sūtra* before him. When *Vasubandhu* heard these *Sūtras* he found *Mahāyāna* sound both theoretically as well as practically. He regretted on having committed a big sin by disrespecting the *Mahāyāna*. He was so much affected that he was ready even to cut off his tongue. But *Asaṅga* stopped him, suggesting to expound *Mahāyāna* with an equal skill as he had attacked it. Following his brother's advise, *Vasubandhu* wrote a number of commentaries on *Mahāyāna Sūtra*, some of which include ;

1. *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*,
2. The *Maha-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra*, and
3. *Vajracchedika Prajñāpāramita*, etc.

Defending the doctrine of the reality of pure consciousness *Vasubandhu* composed two philosophical treatises on subjective idealism—the *Viṃśatikā* comprising of twenty verses and the *triṃśikā* comprising of thirty verses. This system is known as *Vijñānavāda*.

Vasubandhu, towards the end of his life, became a devotee of *Amitābha* and composed *Aparimitāyus – Sūtropadeśa.* It gives the expression to his longing for *Sukhāvatī*.

Visubandhu died at the age of eighty years in *Ayodha*. Acchrding to *Tārānāthu*, he died in Nepal.

1. *Tārānātha, op. cit*, pp. 91 ff.
2. Watters, *op. cit*. p. 214.
3. *ibid.*,
4. *Tārānātha, op. cit*, pp 91, 7 fn.
5. Rockhill, W.W., *Udānvarga*, London, 1883, p. xi.
6. Jan Yun Hua, *Kashmir's contribution to the expansion of Buddhism in the far east*, IHQ, vol. xxxvii, pp. 102 ff.
7. *Satyasiddhi Śāstra of Harivarman.* vol. I. edited by Sastri, N. Aiyaswami, Review, Published in J.A.S.B. Vol. 52/53/1977-78, (new sries) p. 393.

   According to a statement of Sanyin about Harivarman quoted by *Yamakami, Sāgen: Systems of Buddhist thought*, p. 175, Harivarman was the disciple of *Kumāralabdha*, a leader of the *Hinayanists* in Kashmir. According to the same source *Harivarman* composed his work about 890 years after *Buddha's Pnrinirvāṇa.* Also of. N. Dutt. *Buddhist sects in India*, p. 74
8. *ERE*, vol. xii, 1923, p. 895.
9. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 280
10. *ibid*.
11. *Tārānātha, op, cit.*, p. 167
12. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
13. *ibid.*, p. 279.
14. *ibid.*, p. 324.
15. Beal. S., *op. cit.*. p. 196
16. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 327
17. Beal, *op. cit*. p. 196-97.

18. *ibid*., p. 197.
19. *ibid*., also of. Watters, *op. cit*, p. 327.
20. Watters, *op cit*., p. 282.
21. *ibid*.
22. *ibid*.
23. *ibid*., pp. 259, 283.
24. Naudou, Jean, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 68-70; also cf. Vidyabhusana, S.C., *A History of Indian Logic*, Delhi, 1971, pp. 323 ff.
25. Naudou, *op. cit*., p. 71.
26. *Tārānātha op. cit*., p, 222.
27. *ibid*., pp. 197-98.
28. Roerich, George N., *The Blue Annals*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 1050-51.
29. *ibid*., p. 1051.
30. Naudou, *op. cit*., p. 73.
31. *Kalhaṇa, op. cit*., ch. iv, v. 210.
32. *Tārānatha op cit*., pp. 220 ff.
33. Naudou, *op. cit*., p. 74; Vidyabhushan, *Baudha Stotra Saṃgraha* vol. I. Bibliotheca Indica Series, 1908.
34. *ibld*., p. 76. *Astabhayatrānatārosadhanā* was later translated into Tibetan by a Kashmiri Buddhist named *Tathāgatabhadra* during the latter's stay in China.
35. *Tārānātha op. cit*., pp. 308-9.
36. Naudou, *op. cit*., p. 126.
37. *ibid*., p. 127.
38. *ibid*., pp. 169, 226.
39. *ibid*., pp. 217, 227.
40. *Tārānātha, op. cit*., p. 302
41. Naudou, *op. cit*.. p. 188.
42. *ibid*., p. 217.
43. *ibid*., p. 210.
44. *ibid*, p. 218.
45. *Roerich, op. cit*,, p. 347.
46. *ibid*.
47. *ibid*.
48, *ibid*.
49. *ibid*. p. 348.
50. Naudou, *op. cit*., p. 217.
51. *ibid*., p. 220.

52. *ibid*. p. 230.
53. *ibid*., p. 226.
54. *ibid*., p. 230.
55. Naudou, op. cit., p. 226.
56. *ibid*, p. 231.
57. Vidyabhusana, S.C., '*A History of Indian Logic*' Calcutta 19 pp. 331 ff.
58. Bagchi, P. C., *India and China*. Calcutta, 1981, pp. 46, 275.
59. Bagchi, *op. cit*, pp. 46-47, 226; Bose, P.N., *The Indian Teachers in China*, Madras, 1923, p. 54.
60. Bagchi, *op. cit*. pp. 47-48, 274; Bose, *op. cit*., pp. 69-70
61. Bagchi, *op. cit*., pp. 47, 265; Bose, *op. cit*., p. 71.
62. Bagchi, *op. cit*., pp. 48 ff., 259-60; Bose, *op. cit*. p. 71.
63. Watters, *op. cit*., p. 63.
64. Bagchi, *op. cit*. pp. 50, 276-77; Bose, *op. cit*. p. 69.
65. Bagchi, *op. cit*., pp. 50, 259; Bose, *op. cit*., p. 73.
66. Bagchi, *op. cit*., pp. 52,263; Bose, *op. cit*., p. 73.
67. Bose, *op. cit*., pp. 74 ff.; Bagchi, *op. cit*., pp. 50-52, 267.
68. Bagchi, *op. cit*., p. 267.
69. Legge, James, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, New York, 1886, p. 113; Giles, H.A. *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.)*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 78.
70. Bagchi, *op. cit*., p. 170.
71. *ibid*., p. 259.
72. *ibid*. p. 256; Bose, *op. cit*. p.p. 115-116.
73. Bagchi, *op. cit*., pp. 72, 276; Bose, *op, cit*. pp. 136-37.
74. Bose, *op. cit*. p. 143; Bagchi, *op. cit*., p. 73, also cf. Hua, *op. cit*., p. 99.
75. Bagchi, *op. cit*., p. 273.
76. *Tārānātha*, *op. cit*. p. 276; Naudou, *op. cit*,, pp. 69, 100, 101.
77. Sankrtyayane, Rahul, *Tibet Me Bouddha Dharma* (in Hindi), Allahabad, 1948, pp. 12, 13; Naudou, *op. cit*., 96-97.
78. Naudou, *op. cit*., pp. 100, 101, 103-5; also cf. *Tārānātha*, *op. cit*. p. 285; Roerich. *op. cit*., p. 344.
79. Naudou, *op. cit*., pp. 100, 101, 103-4: *Tārānātha*, *op. cit*. p, 259.
80. Naudou, *op. cit*., pp. 191-92; Roerich, *op. cit*., pp. 373, 1051,
81. *supra*., p, 30.
82. *Tārānātha*, *op. cit*.. pp. 301-2, Naudou, *op. cit*, pp. 168 ff.
83. Roerich, *op. cit*., pp. 355,372-373; Naudou, *op. cit*., pp, 221 ff.

?? p. 194-5.

1? ., pp. 188 ff, Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 847, 1007, 1044.

Naudou, ., pp, 196 ff; also cf. Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp, 69-70, 85-86.

ibid., pp. 758 ., Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 ff.; Rahul, *op cit*, p. 37.

supra, p. 37.

89. *supra* p. 22

90. *infra*, p. 45

91. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 210, 217-18; also cf. *Tārānātha*, *op. cit.* p-302.

92. *ibid.*. p. 302.

93 Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

94 *supra*, p. 21.

95. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228, 230; also cf. Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 325, 344.

96 Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 230, 231.

97 *ibid.*, p. 231.

98 *ibid*, pp. 231-233, also cf. Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

99. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234, 235.

100. *ibid*. pp. 234-236: also cf. Roerich, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

101. Naudou, *op*, *cit.*, p. 236.

102. *ibid.*, p. 214.

103. *ibid.*, pp. 251-252, also cf. Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-318.

104. Rahul, *op. cit.*, op. 43-44; Roerich, *op. cit*, pp. 710, 1063 ff; Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 ff.

105. Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

106. *ibid.*, p. 44.

107. Roerich, *op. cst.*, p. 710.

108. Naudou, *op. cit.*, 246.

109. *ibid.*. p. 252.

110. *ibid.*, pp. 225-256.

111. *ibid.*, pp. 256-257.

112. *ibid.*, pp. p. 258.

113. Ramanan, K.V., *Nāgārjuna's Philosaphy*, Delhi, 1978, p. 25.

114. Walleser. Max, *Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* p. 424.

115. *Kalahaṇa*, *op. cit.*. Ch. I. v. 172-173, also cf. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, note on verse 173 of Ch. I.

116. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

117. *Kalhna, op. cit.*, Ch. I. v. 170 ; Stein,
118. Ramanan, *o . cit.*, p. 30.
119. *Taishō-shins izōkyō*, ed. Takakusu 1933, 2047; , 185 c, (uoted from 8 fn).
120. Ramanan, *op. cit.*, p. 26,
121. *Taishō-shinshū-daizōkyō*, 2047; 184c, *op. cit.*, p. 337, 10 fn).
122. Ramanan, *op. cit.* p. 26.
123. *Dul-ya*, Vol. xi, p. 687.
124. Ramanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.
125. Kaul, J. N., *Nāgārjuna—His two trin shn* G.K.C., Series VI, 1983, (in press).
126. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.
127. Sasaki, G.H., *2500 year Buddhism*, p. 210 *India and China*, pp. 42 , 148.
128. Panikkar, K.M., *India d China*, Bombay, 195
129. Takakusu, J., *A study o Paramartha's Life ot the date of Vasubandhu*, JRAS, 1905 (Part first).
130. Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 354 ff.
131. *Tārānātha, op. cit.*, pp. 155 ff,; also cf. *ER* pp. 595 ff.

ndi),

cit.

9.



Buddhist statue at Parihaspura, once Capital of Lalitaditya, King of Kashmir

Buddhist centre in North-Western frontier region of China. He, alongwith *Dharmarakṣa*, translated this text in 284 A.D.[1]

Another Kashmiri Buddhist who went to China, during the later part of *Yung-Chia era* (307-312 A.D.) of the *Chin* dynasty, was *Chih-shan*. But he had to return soon as he did not receive enough appreciation for his learning from the people of China. It was, however, the Chinese scholar *Fo-t'u-teng* who later recognized the virtue and attainment of this Master and subsequently impressed his countrymen about this.[2]

Buddhism reached Tibet much later than it reached Central Asia and China. Mainly because of geographical isolation, intense cold and difficult barren terrain, outsiders found it extremely difficult to get into Tibet. Even the writing of history in Tibet began later, sometime during the 7th century A.D. when *Sroṅ-btsan-Sgam-po* was the ruler.[3] This king also conceived the idea of reducing spoken Tibetan to a system of alphabetic writing to facilitate the coming of Buddhism from India. He also sent *Thon-mi Sambhoṭa* to India to learn writing and adapt it to the notation of the Tibetan language. Some texts, particularly *Bu-ston's Chos-'byuṅ* and the *Annals of Ladakh*, state that *Thon-mi* came to Kashmir.[4] It was 7th century onwards that Kashmiri scholars began to visit Tibet, thereby marking the importance and the radiation of Kashmiri Buddhism. Among scholars in Tibet, *Tuna* was a Kashmiri, to whom king *Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po* entrusted the work of translating Buddhist treatises.[5] Cultural contacts of Tibet with the Buddhist world surrounding her, including Kashmir must, however, have been established at least two centuries earlier.

The vast Buddhist literature, which has been conventionally divided into two classes : the *Hinayāna* and the *Mahāyāna*, is preserved only outside the frontiers of India. Original literature was composed in Pāli and Sanskrit whereas the translations were mainly in Chinese and Tibetan. Buddhist texts were also translated into the languages of the countries to which Buddhism spread. Pāli canon has been preserved in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Burma and Siam (Thailand). A few Sanskrit texts belonging to the vast Sanskrit canon have been

discovered in Nepal and fragments of the manuscripts of this Sanskrit canon have been discovered in dilapidated Buddhist grottos of Afghanistan and the ruins of Buddhist temples in the deserts of Central Asia.[6] But the entire Sanskrit canon has been preserved only in large collections of Chinese and Tibetan translations. These collections also contain a vast literature that was translated from various Indian sources. This literature includes commentaries and exegetical texts which are otherwise lost in their original form. The collections also include dictionaries which were compiled in order to facilitate the translations. The role of Kashmiri scholars has been considerable in the building up of these collections. In the following account, an attempt has been made to highlight in a systematic manner the contributions of various Kashmiri scholars towards the formation of the Buddhist literature.

III. i.i. *Early Buddhism* (*Hinayana*): Early Buddhist canon is traditionally divided into three ***Piṭakas***, viz., ***Vinaya***, ***Sūtra*** and ***Abhidharma***. ***Vinayapiṭaka*** is mainly a code of monastic discipline. In the Chinese translation of Buddhist canons there are five different ***Vinayapiṭakas*** :

(i) *Mahāsāṇghikavinaya*,
(ii) *Sarvāstivādavinaya*,
(iii) *Dharmaguptakavinaya*,
(iv) *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, and
(v) *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*.

In this connection, the ***Sarvāstivādavinaya***, also known as '***Vinayapitaka***' in ten sections, was translated by ***Puṇyatrāta*** of Kashmir. He translated it in collaboration with ***Kumārajiva***.[7] ***Vimalākṣa***, another Kashmiri scholar who was a famous ***Vinaya***-master and a teacher of ***Kumārajiva***, also translated ***Daśādhāyavinaya***.[8] Kashmir during this period, i.e., around 4th-5th century A.D., was a flourishing centre of the *Sarvāstivāda* School and the literature of this school was mostly studied in the Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia.[9] Another Kashmiri Buddhist scholar—***Buddhayaśas***, translated

Dharmaguptavinaya, which is also known as "*Vinaya-piṭaka* in four sections". This Kashmiri scholar had passed a considerable part of his active career in various parts of Central Asia.[10] *Buddhajiva*, another *Vinaya*-master of Kashmir, translated the *Mahiśāsaka-vinaya*, and the *Prātimokṣa* of *Mahisasaka*.[11] *Bka'gyur*, the Tibetan Buddhist collection, which opens with *Dul-va* (*Vinaya*), is the translation of the *Mūlasārvāstivada-vinaya*.[12] A portion of this *Vinaya* has been found in the manuscript finds at Gilgit.[13] Kashmiri scholars, viz., *Sarvajnamitra*, *Dharmākara* and *Jinamitra* took leading part in this translation.[14] It is perhaps for this significant enterprise that *Jinamitra* and *Sarvajñāmitra* received a pompous title '*Āryamūlasarvāstivāda-vinayadhara Kaśmiravaibhāṣikācārya*'.[15] Besides translating a comprehensive collection of *Vinayapiṭakas*, Kashmiri scholars did other Chinese and Tibetan translations of the texts belonging to *Vinaya* section. Some of these are commentaries, called *Vibhāṣā*. *Saṅghabūti* translated such a commentary on the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, when he was in China.[16] *Jinamitra* and *Sarvajñādeva* translated into Tibetan *Vinayasamuccaya*. The other *Vinaya* texts translated into Tibetan by *Jinamitra* include the *Vinayavibhaṅgādivyākhyāna* of *Vinitdeva*, the *Vinayasūtra* of *Guṇaprabha*, the *Vinaya-sūtratīkā* of *Dharmamitra*, and the *Ekottarakarmaśataka* of *Guṇaprabha*.[17] Another Kashmiri scholar in Tibet, named *Janārdana*, translated *Prātimokṣabhāṣya*.[18] *Prātimokṣa* is the nucleus of *Vinayapiṭaka* in which rules of ordination of monks and nuns are given.

Sūtrapiṭaka (Pāli *Suttapitaka*) is the next section of Buddhist *Tripiṭaka*. It is a collection of discourses attributed to *Buddha* himself. It's five sub-sections are known as *Nikāya* in Pāli and *Āgama* in Sanskrit. These include :

(i) *Digha Nikāya* or *Dirghāgama*,
(ii) *Majjhima Nikāya* or *Madhyamāgama*,
(iii) *Samyutta Nikāya* or *Samyuktāgama*,
(iv) *Anguttara Nikāya* or *Ekottarāgama*, and
(v) *Khuddaka Nikāya* or *Ksudraka āgama*.

Chinese *Sūtrapiṭaka* is the translation of the Sanskrit original, corresponding to Pāli *Suttapitaka*. The fragmentary remains of the original Sanskrit text were found in Central Asia.[19] The *Dirghāgama* was translated into Chinese by the Kashmirian monk *Buddhayaśas*.[20] *Madhyamāgamasūtra* which is rather similar to Majjhima Nikaya of the *Hinayāna* school was translated by Kashmiri Buddhist scholar Gautama Saṅghdeva in 397-398 A.D..[21] The *Madhyamāgama* and the *Ekottarāgama* were translated in 420-427 A.D. by *Guṇabhadra*, who is reported to have gone to China from Kashmir.[22] The last section of *Sūtrapitaka*, i.e., *Khuddaka* or *Ksudrakāgama* is mainly a collection of heterogeneous texts, viz., the *Dhamapada, Vitāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāta* and *Jātaka*, etc. These are separate Chinese translations of the corresponding Sanskrit texts such as *Udānavarga* or *Dharmapada, Jātaka, Arthavarga, etc.*[23] Sanskrit *Udānavarga* compiled by Kashmiri *Dharmatrāta*, is the famous collection of old verses of *Dharmapada*.[24] There are three different Chinese translations of *Udānavarga*[25] and one translation in Tibetan.[26] *Udānavarga-vivarṇa*, a commentary on *Udānavarga*, was composed by *Prajñāvarman* who lived in Kashmir during the 9th century A.D.[27] The commentary was translated into Tibetan by the Kashmiri scholar *Janārdana*,[28] who also translated the first thirty-two *Jātakas* of Śūra's *Jātakamālā*.[29] Another Kashmiri Buddhist, named *Tien-si-tsai*, made a Chinese version of the *Dharmapada* which has various different versions in Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian.[30]

The third section, *Abhidharmapiṭaka*, contains a scholastic exposition of the Buddhist philosophy. In Chinese, this collection is known as the collection of *Śāstras*.[31] They are not *Sūtras* (the sayings of *Buddha*) but are ascribed to different authors. In the Chinese collection, the principal *Abhidharma* texts belong to the *Sarvāstivāda* school. These texts, unfortunately like the *Vinaya* and the *Sūtra* of this School, are lost in their original Sanskrit.[32] The *Sarvāstivāda* school, which flourished in Kashmir, possessed seven *Abhidharma* texts. Of the seven texts, the first—*Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra*, was the principal work of the *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma-piṭaka* which was translated by the Kashmiri monk, *Gautama*

Saṅghadeva, in collaboration with *Chu Fo-nien* in China during 4th century A.D.[33] The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* which, according to the tradition, was compiled during the fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir, was translated into Chinese between 656-659 A.D. by *Yuan-Chwang*[34] who was the founder of *kin She* (*-kośa*) school in China. The name of this school is derived from *Abhidharmakośa*, the work of *Vasubhandhu*, containing the exposition of the philosophy of the *Sarvāstivāda* school. It is based on seven metaphysical works of this school.[35] *Abhidharmakośa* had a wide circulation in Tibet as well. It was translated with numerous commentaries during the early period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet.[36] Kashmiri scholar *Jinamitra* translated both *Abhidharmakośakārikā* and *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of *Vasubhandhu*.[37] Another Kashmiri Buddhist, *Kanakavarman*, translated *Lakaṣaṇānusāriṇī*—the commentary of the *Abhidharmakośa*.[38] There are other *Śāstra* texts translated by Kashmiri scholars into Chinese and Tibetan. *Gautama Saṅghadeva* translated *Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*[39] and *Dharmayaśas* translated *Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra*[40] into Chinese. *Buddhavarman* is reported to have translated *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* in China.[41] Two Kashmiri scholars, *Jinamitra* and *Dānaśīla*, with other collaborators, translated *Prajñāptiśāstra* in Tibet.[42] *Yuan Chwang*, in his travel account, mentions some *Śāstra* texts which were written by Kashmiri *Vaibhāṣikas*. These texts include *Tsa-abhidharma lun* written by *Dharmatrāta*;[43] *Vibhāṣāprakaraṇapāda śāstra* and *Abhidharmāvatāra śāstra* or *Abhidharmapraveśa-śāstra*, both written by *Skandhila*.[44] *Pūrṇa*—another Kashmiri, according to *Yuan Chwang*, composed a commentary on *Vibhāṣā-śāstra*.[45] Besides *Sarvāstivāda* school, according to the same authority, other schools also were prevailing side by side in Kashmir. *Tattvasaṅgraha*, a *Mahāsāṅghika* work, was composed by a Kashmiri scholar *Bodhila* in a *Mahāsāṅghika* monastery of Kashmir.[46]

Satyasiddhi śāstra or *Tattvasiddhiśāstra* is an important work in the Chinese *śāstra* collection. It was composed by *Harivārman*, a famous *Sarvāstivāda* teacher of Kashmir, in 253 A.D. He composed this work keeping in view all the divisions of Buddhist church that had arisen till his time. The

original work is now lost but it is preserved in Chinese translation of *Kumārajīva* who introduced *Satyasiddhi* school based on this *Śāstra* in China. This work was held in high esteem in China.[47]

III. i.ii. *Mahāyāna Buddhism* : The teachings of *Buddha Śākyamuni* were primarily concerned with the four noble truths and the eight-fold path which deal with the problem of individual suffering that is concomitant with our birth in this world of woes; its causes and the means of uprooting those causes. According to this religion of *Buddha*, the ideal state of *Arhatship* could be attained by uprooting the causes of suffering through leading a scruplously pure life of a strict ascetic. But as time passed this religion gradually underwent a considerable change. With this change a new mental attitude developed according to which historical *Buddha* was considered to be one of a series of ephemeral *Buddhas*—transitory emnations of the ultimate reality, henceforth named *Dharmakāya*. There were not only the earthly *Buddhas* but also *Bodhisattvas*—the potential *Buddhas*, and *Arhats* or ordinary monks. A higher category of *Bodhisattvas*, known as *Maitreya*, *Avalokiteśvara*, *Amitābha*, etc. were god-like, full of great compassion, ever-ready to lead beings in distress to the peaceful abodes or heavens of which each of them was the master. The main characteristic of this attitude was that it rejected the practice of religion only for one's own salvation. In its wider perspective, it laid stress on helping other suffering beings to also attain salvation. Thus, this attitude of Buddhism came to be known as *Mahāyāna* or 'the great vehicle'. It was after the introduction of *Mahāyāna* that earlier Buddhism came to be known as *Hinayāna* or 'the little vehicle', primarily because old orthodox followers of this vehicle strived only for self-emancipation. *Mahāyāna* was capable of greater expansion as all kinds of kindred beliefs, which would mean only the creation of new *Boddhisattvas*, could easily be assimilated into it. As such, *Hindu* gods like *Nārāyaṇa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva*, etc. were all introduced under their new names in Buddhist Pantheon. This gradual change introduced a large amount of theism into the origi-

nally atheistic Buddhism. In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, personal gods were fit for worship and realisation. Contemplation, which involved a series of spiritual exercises (*Yoga*), was the very basis of realisation. In this new form of Buddhism two important systems of philosophy were developing—the *Mādhyamika* and the *Yogācāra* or *Vijñānavāda*, expounded by *Nāgārjuna*, and two brothers—*Asaṅga* and *Vasubandhu*, respectively. As such *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism as a religion attracted towards it peoples of other faiths and its philosophical aspect attracted the best intellects who followed it to a considerable extent with the help of their own logic. But this new development never denied the original creed of Buddhism, according to which the world of phenomenon was considered to be transient or illusory and so also our individuality. Realisation of these transient or illusory subjective and objective entities which alone could lead to the cessation of suffering was the ultimate attainment of perfect beautitude (*Nirvāṇa*). According to the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism, all powerful *Boddhisattvas*—*Maitreya*, *Amitabha*, etc. show the way to that goal.

Mahāyāna Buddhism was gaining ground in India from the *Kuṣāṇa* period. It was a predominant form of Buddhism all over India till the 7th century A.D.[48] and contained a large section of its literature in the form of numerous *Mahāyāna sūtras* and philosophical works in Sanskrit. It was with its exposition beyond the frontiers of India that this literature was translated into the languages of those countries to which it spread. In this connection, Kashmiri scholars were playing a predominant role from the very beginning. Buddhist meditation (*Dhyāna*) had a long tradition in Kashmir.[49] The first patriarch of the *Dhyāna* Buddhist school in Kashmir was *Puṇyamitra* who was later succeeded by his disciple *Puṇyatāra* whose two disciples, *Dharmatrāta* (before 3rd century A D.)[50] and *Buddhasena*, were jointly respected as third patriarchs. The method of *Dhyāna* expounded by *Dharmatrāta* was introduced in China by *Buddhabhadra* of Central India who studied in Kashmir and visited China in the beginning of 5th century A.D. *Dhyāna* in China is known as *Ch'an*. *Buddhabhadra* translated *Ch'an-ching*, a work of

Dharmatrāta whose method of *Dhyāna* occupied an important place amongst the canons of meditation. *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, the famous *Mahāyāna śāstra*, which is the fundamental text of the *Yogācāra* doctrine, was translated in China by a Kashmiri scholar, named *Cha-Hou-Chêng*, in collaboration with *Dharmarakṣa*, in 284 A.D. It was this Kashmiri scholar who had brought the text to China.[51] *Dharmayaśas*, a Kashmiri scholar, translated *Strivivarta-Vyākaraṇa sūtra* bet-ween 405-414 A.D.[52] and *Buddhayaśas*, the Kashmiri monk translated *Ākāśa-garbha-Bodhisattva-sūtra* between 410-417 A.D.[53] During the same century another Kashmiri monk, *Dharmamitra*, translated *Bodhisattvadhārṇi*[54] and *Guṇavarman* explained *Saddharmapundrika* and *Daśabhūmi-sūtra* in China. *Guṇavarman* also translated *Bodhisattva-caryā-nirdeśa* which is a chapter of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*.[55] Between 693-706 A.D. another Kashmiri monk, *Ratnacinta*, translated two *Mahāyāna sūtras*, i.e., *Ekāksharadhārṇi* and '*Sūtra on counting the good qualities of a rosary*'.[56] During the last quarter of the 10th century, Kashmiri *Tien-si-tsai* translated two more *Mahāyāna sūtras*, i.e., *Daśanāma-sūtra* and *Upamitāyus sūtra*.[57] All this clearly indicates that it was not only the *Sarvāsti-vāda* Buddhism which was expounded and implemented mostly by Kashmiri scholars, but their contributions to *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism were also outstanding. In the following account we will look into the activities of Kashmiri scholars as also authors of various philosophical works which are preserved in Tibetan translations.

In Tibet, the great Kashmiri scholar *Jinamitra*, who lived during 9th century A.D. collaborated with other scholars in translating the six *Mahāyāna-sūtras* of *Prajñāpāramita* class.[58] He also translated some philosophical works among which four were of the *Mādhyamika* system and eight of the *Vijñānavāda* system.[59] *Dānaśila*, another Kashmiri scholar, also collaborated with *Jinamitra* in making some of these transla-tions.[60] *Subhūtiśriśānti*, a great master of Kashmir during the 11th century A.D., translated many *sūtras* and *śāstras* of the *Prajñāpāramitā* class. The most important translation is of *Aṣtasāhasrikā* and the commentary of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* entitled *Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka* and the translation of the

Abhisamayālankāraṭikā.[61] During the same century, another Kashmiri scholar, *Mahājana*, wrote *Prajñāpāramitahṛdayārthaparijñāna* being a commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitahṛdaya-sūtra*, and he himself put it into Tibetan translation. He also translated into Tibetan *Śrāmaneraśikṣāpadasūtra*, a *Vinaya* text of *Mahāyānists*.[62] *Jñānaśrībhadra*, also a Kashmiri scholar of the 11th century, wrote two commentaries—one, on *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* entitled *Āryālaṅkāvatāravṛtti*, and second, on *Hṛdayasūtra* entitled *Bhagavatīprjñāpāramitahṛdayavyākhyā*. He also wrote the *Āryaprajñāpāramitanayaśatapañcāśatakaṭikā* and the *Sūtrālaṅkārapiṇḍārtha* besides translating the latter work.[63] Another Kashmiri of the same epoch, named *Parahitabhadra*, composed two philosophical commentaries—the *Śūnyatāsaptativivṛtti* and the *Sūtrālaṅkārādiślokadvayavyākhyāna*. The latter was a commentary on the two initial verses of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*.[64] Other Kashmiri scholars like *Mahāsumati*, *Tilakakalaśa* and *Kanakavarman*, who also lived during the 11th century A.D., were specially interested in *Prajñāpāramita* class and *Mādhyamika* system. *Mahāsumati*, in Kashmir, in collaboration with a Tibetan translator, translated the *Prasannapāda*—a commentary of the *Mūlamādhyamakakārikā* of *Nāgārjuna*. He also corrected the translation of the *Nāgārjuna's* work.[65] *Tilakakalaśa* translated two texts of *Prajñāpāramita* class.[66] *Kanakavarman* corrected the translation of two works of *Mādhyamika* system—*Prasannapāda* and *Mādhyamakāvatāra*.[67] During the 12th century A.D., *Sūkṣmajana* translated *Bodhisattvayogācāryacatuḥśatakakārikā* of *Āryadeva* and its *ṭikā*.[68] *Kumāraprajñā* translated *Akṣaraśatakā*, a *Mahāyāna* work, and its *ṭika*.[69]

III. i.iii. Buddhist Logic : Buddhist logic starts with a theory of sensation as the most indubitable voucher for the existence of an external world. It then proceeds to a theory of a co-ordination between that external world and the representation of it as constructed by our understanding in images and concepts. Next comes a theory of judgement of inference and of syllogism. Finally a theory on the art of conducting Philosophical disputations (*vāda-vidhi*) in public is appended.

It thus embraces the whole area of human knowledge, beginning with rudimentary sensation and ending with the complicated apparatus of a public debate. Buddhists call this science a doctrine of the sources of right knowledge. The ultimate aim of Buddhist logic is to explain the relation between a moving reality and the static constructions of thought. Buddhist logic was created in India as a consequence of the writings of *Dignāga* during 5th century A D. and of *Dharmakīrti* during 7th century A.D. The creation of the Buddhist logical literature was followed in all northern Buddhist countries. It contains the enormous literature of commentaries.

Kashmiri scholars also interested themselves in it, and their contribution to Buddhist logic is considerable. *Dharmottarācārya*, a Kashmiri Buddhist logician who lived during the 8th century, wrote two commentaries on the two works of *Dharmakīrti* besides composing four original works on logic.[70] *Śāṅkarānanda*, originally a Kashmiri *brāhmin* who was later considered a second *Dharmakīrti*, wrote on Buddhist logic.[71] His *Apohasiddhi* was translated into Tibetan by *Manoratha*, another Kashmiri logician during the 11th century.[72] *Bhavyarāja*, during the same century, received the pompous title of '*Śrimat Kaśmiranyāyacūdāmaṇi Bhavyarāja*' in Tibet for translating *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*. He also translated two works of *Dharmottara* and *Pratibandhasiddhi* of *Śāṅkarānanda*.[73] *Kumaraśrī* and *Śunyaśrī* were the two Krshmiris under whose control the translation of *Pramāṇavārtikālaṅkāra* was revised.[74] Another Kashmiri logician, *Arcata*, wrote a commentary on *Dharmakīrti*'s work and he also wrote the *Tarkatikā*.[75] *Jinamitra* (9th century) translated the *Nyāyabindutikā*.[76] *Ratnavajra* (11th century) composed *Yuktiprayoga*.[77] *Subhūtiśriśānti* (11th century) translated four works on logic including the *Yuktiprayoga*.[78] *Jñānaśrī* (11th century) worte a commentary on *Dharmakīrti's* famous treatise *Pramāṇaviniscaya* and wrote the *Kāryakāraṇābhāvasiddhi*. He also translated his *Pramānaviniscayatika* and *Vādanyāyaprakaranā*.[79] *Parahita* (11th century) translated *Sambandhayarikṣānusāra*[80] and *Kanakavarman* (11th century) translated *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of *Dignāga*.[81] *Śakyaśri*

(12th-13th century) corrected the translation of *Pramāṇavā r-tikakārikā* of *Dharmakīrti*.[82] *Sarvajñāśrī* (13th century) translated *Nyāyapraveśanāma Pramāṇaprakaraṇa*.[83]

III. i.iv. *Tantrism or Esoteric Buddhism* : *Yogācāra* school of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism gave importance to *Vijñāna* (consciousness) the cultivation of which gradually led to several esoteric developments in Buddhism. *Mantras, Dhāraṇīs*, etc., which began to assume increasing importance for a *Yogi*, were believed to possess great magical powers. These *Mantras* and *Dhāraṇīs* had their counterparts in the *Parittas* in Pāli literature, which were thought to protect the reciters against all evils.[84] This aspect of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism included various forms of mysticism known as *Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna, Sahajayāna*, etc. In this form, a symbolic language was used, which only the initiates could understand and to the common people the words carried an altogether different meaning. This is the reason that considerable misunderstanding was created about the followers of the *Tantric* school and their practices. This form introduced the cult of many gods and goddesses by whose favour the devotees were expected to attain ***siddhi*** (perfection). Buddhist Tantric literature as represented by the works of Kashmiri scholars is preserved in Tibetan translations. Kashmiri *Ravigupta*, belonging to the 8th century, was proficient in magic spells and he had attained the *siddhi* of *Tārā*—the female aspect of *Bodhisattva*. According to a tradition she bestowed on him a *stotra* with the help of which one could perform any kind of magic rite. This ritual earned wide currency in Tibet. Seven works of *Ravigupta* are all dedicated to *Tārā*.[85] *Sarvajñāmitra*, another Kashmiri monk and a student of *Ravigupta*, was a devout worshipper of *Tārā*. He composed four works in praise of *Tārā* among which *Sragdharāstotra* is a well-known hymn in 37 verses. There are available three Tibetan translations of it as well as a commentary.[86] *Gaṅgādhara*, a Kashmiri scholar and teacher of another Kashmiri scholar *Ratnavajra* (11th century), wrote *Vajravidāraṇīsādhanā*.[87] Another Kashmiri, named *Somaśrī*, who was the teacher of *Parahitabhadra* of Kashmir (11th century), wrote four works dealing with

Nāmasaṅgītiyogatantra.[88] The Kashmiri scholar, *Sajjana* was considered an originator of the *Anuttarayogatantra* in Kashmir which represented the doctrine of *Maitreya. Sajjana* translated *Uttaratantra-śāstra* and its commentary.[89] *Sraddhākaravarman* wrote some short *Tantric* texts.[90] *Ratnavajra* also composed some texts dealing with *Mantrayāna.*[91] The Kashmiri nun, *Lakṣmī*, expounded the 'detailed exposition' of the cycle of *Mahākārunika* (*Avalokiteśvra*). There exist five works dedicated to *Avalokiteśvra* and composed by *Lakṣmī.*[92] *Subhūtiśrīśānti* translated *Śrīcakrasamvāradvajavirasādhanā* of *Ratnavajra* belonging to *Cakrasamvāra* cycle and *Lakṣābhidhānoddhṛtalaghutantrapiṇḍārthavivarṇa* dealing with *Kālacakra* cycle. He also translated *Sadaṇgayoga* and *Sahajaratisamyoga Tantras.*[93] *Somanātha* (11th century) obtained scholarship on *Kālacakra* and preached this system in Tibet. He translated many important texts dealing with *Kālacakra.*[94] *Mahājana* translated seven *Tantric* texts majority of which deal with *Nāmasaṅgītiyogatantra.*[95] *Jñānaśrī* (11th century) is reported to have composed some minor *Tantric* texts.[96] *Parahita* translated two works of *Sambhāra* series.[97] *Kanakavarman* translated *Śrīsarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi* and *Pratiṣṭhāvidhisamkṣepa* of *Sraddhākaravarman.*[98] *Śākyaśrī* (12th-13th century) also translated and composed some *Tantric* works dealing with the cycle of the *Kālacakra*, the *Tārā*, and cycle of *Avalokiteśvara*, *Nāmasamgīti*, *Mañjuśrī*, *Jambhāla*, etc.[99] *Sugataśrī* translated *Svapnatāropāyikā* and *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṅgītivṛtti amṛtabindupratyāloka nāma.*[100] *Vimalaśrībhadra* (14th century) was the author of four *Tantric* texts which he translated into Tibetan. He also translated *Suviśādasamputa*, an important commentary of the *Hevajratantra.*[101] *Dharmadhara* (14th century) also translated some *Tantric* works.[102] Lastly *Sumanaśrī*, who expounded the cycle of *Padmajāla* to great Tibetan historian *Bu-ston*, also translated some *Tantric* works.[103]

III. i.v. Dictionaries: Kashmiri scholars *Jinamitra* and *Dānaśila*, during 9th century A.D. collaborated with other scholars in compiling an etymological dictionary in Tibetan

at the request of king *Khri-lde sron-bcan Ral-Pa-Can* (circa 814 A.D.)[104]

The famous Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary *Ching-yu T'ien-Chu Tzu-Yuan* was a compilation produced by the Imperial Institute for Transmission of *Buddha-Dharma* in *Sung* China. This dictionary was jointly compiled by *Dharmapāla*, a monk of Kashmir and *Wei-Ching*, who was a nephew of *Li-Yu* (937-978 A.D.), the dispossessed king of southern Ta'ng Kingdom. The work was done in 1035 A.D. The emperor named the work and wrote a preface to it.[105]

Thus, the above review shows that Kashmir played a prominent role in the transmission of Buddhist learning through her learned scholars in Kashmir as well as abroad. Kashmir was the chief centre of Buddhist learning from about the beginning of the Christian era. Again, it was through Kashmir that India was connected with Central Asia, China and Tibet. Kashmiri scholars contributed to the greatness and importance of the place in the history of Buddhist propaganda uptil the last centuries of its decline. Their work and virtues were respected by the Buddhists of other countries. Many Kashmiri scholars were invited to their countries by the Chinese and Tibetan kings and scholars. What is most important is that all these details come to us from the documents preserved in these countries.

III. ii. *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts—a brief survey*: Uncovering of Buddhist antiquities in the Gilgit region was an epoch making archaeological discovery in Kashmir. Actually it was a chance discovery when in May 1931 a cowherd found some manuscripts and fragments. These were written on birch-bark leaves in *Brāhmī* script of the 7th/8th century A.D. In the beginning of June, 1931, Sir Aural Stein heard of these finds while he was returning from his Central Asian tour. He procured 11+7 leaves from the local people, and announced this chance discovery in the following words :[106]

"...boys watching flocks above Naupur village about two miles West of Gilgit cantonment, are said to have cleared a piece of timber sticking out on the top of a small stone-

covered mound. Further digging laid bare a circular chamber within the ruins of a Buddhist *stūpa* filled with hundreds of small votive *stūpa* and relief plaques common in Central Asia and Tibet.

"In the course of the excavation a great mass of ancient manuscripts came to light closely packed in what appears to have been a wooden box.

"The palaeographic indications of some of the mss. suggest that they may date back to the sixth century A.D."

Stortly after Aurel Stein's visit, J. Hackin, French scholar, also made a visit to the site and sent a report about these mss. to S. Lévi in Paris. The present whereabouts of J. Hackin's acquirements are unknown.

Meanwhile the Government of Kashmir asked the Vazir of Gilgit to dispatch the finds to Srinagar. In December 1932 Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, the then Director of Research and Archaeology, presented a brief note on the Mss. at the All India Oriental Conference in Baroda. In the same year appeared, in the *Journal Asiatique*, a long article on Gilgit fragments by S. Lévi. He had acquired these fragmentse from A. Stein. In 1936, thirty-six leaves of the Mss. wer purchased by the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, which contained a considerable portion of the 1931 finds, derived from three different manuscripts, i.e., nineteen leaves of *Dharmaskandha* and six leaves of *Lokaprajñāpti* (both are *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma* texts) and nine leaves of *Ekottarāgama*, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Sūtrapiṭaka* text.

In August 1938, Pt. M.S. Kaul made out some excavation at the site and discovered minor antiquities, and four Mss. (one on palm leaf), three pairs of painted wooden covers and fragments. All these finds were deposited in Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. The report about this undertaking was published by M.S. Kaul in 1939.

Capt. Agah Mohamad Ali Shah of Rawalpindi and Lahore was trying to sell a big portion of Mss. since 1940, which had somehow found their way into his hands. In 1942, he offered 275+100 leaves and some other fragments to the British Museum and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. Unfortunately neither of the institutes could

acquire this collection for its very high price. However, four fragments of this collection which were sent to Pune as specimen. were published by P.V. Bapat in 1949.

In Kashmir, the editing of the 1931 finds was entrusted to Prof. N. Dutt in 1938. He published nine parts in four volumes between 1939-59 under the title "*Gilgit Manuscripts*". During the publication, i.e., sometime in 1948, the original Mss. were transferred from Srinagar to the National Archives of India, New Delhi. The whole New Delhi collection, excepting the 'Subsidiary *Prajñāpāramitā* Mss., has been reproduced as facsimile by Dr. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra in ten parts.

Prof. G. Tucci of Rome, who had good relations with Pakistan and was negotiating to carry out excavations in Pakistan territory, could detect and purchase perhaps a large number of leaves from Agah Mohammad Ali Shah. These were brought to Rome for repairs and editing after which Prof. Tucci presented them to the Director-General of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan.

One fragment somehow reached the Heras Institute, Bombay. This is the fragment of the backside of folio 79 of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya Vastu* Ms.[107] Thus the Gilgit Mss. and fragments of Buddhist literature are preserved at various places, viz. New Delhi, London, Srinagar, Pakistan, Pune, Ujjain and Bombay.

During the last two thousand years Sanskrit Buddhism has given rise to vast and profound literature and the main characteristic of the literature preserved in the Gilgit collection is that many Buddhist texts which were formerly known through their translations into Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, Mangolian, Manchu and several extinct Central Asian languages, are now, for the first time, available in their original Sanskrit form. The most important and the most extensive manuscript in this collection is the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya Vastu* consisting of 523 folios, out of which 395 are available. This scripture contains seventeen *Vastus*; only ten *Vastus* are completely available. The Sanskrit text can be compared with its Chinese and Tibetan translations. The text also corresponds to Vol. I of the *Vinaya/piṭaka* in

Pāli. The special feature of this scripture is that it incorporates many *avadānas* and *Jātakas* and the *Sthavita gāthā*, which in Pāli appear as separate texts in the form of *Thera* and *Theri gāthā*, and *Apādāna*.[108]

Another important Ms. is the *Prātimoksa Sūtra* which is available in four different Mss. The *Sūtra* agrees quite closely with its Pāli version (*Pātimokkha Sutta*). One Ms. contains the *Karmavacana* (Pāli *Kammavaca*) which deal with the procedure of the ordination ceremony.[109]

The *Sarvāstivāda* school is represented by two important texts viz. the *Dharmaskandha* (in 19 leaves) and the *Lokaprajñāpti* (in 6 leaves). Some stray fragments of the *Prakaraṇa* of the *Abhidharma* have only recently been identified.

There are some other *Hinayāna Sūtras* preserved in the collection, such as *Ajitasena-Vyākaraṇa*. The 27 leaves of the *Ekottarāgama* belong to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* version of this *sūtra* text.

Avadāna texts of the *Hinayāna* also have been traced and worked upon. Some of them are *Viśvāntarāvadāna*, *Dharmaruciavadāna*, *Mandhata-avadāna*, *Jyotiṣka-avadāna*, *Chandraprabhu-avadāna*, *Sumāgadha-avadāna* (3 Mss.) and *Sucandra-avadāna* etc.

In *Mahāyānic* literature the most important are the *Prajñapāramita* texts containing *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā* (extent in Chinese and Tibetan) and *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā* ('Large' and 'Subsequent' Mss.), and *Vajracchedikā*. The main feature of these texts is that they establish the highest truth (*Tathata* or *Śūnyata*) which is inconceivable and indescribable. It can be realised by the perfect, like *Buddhas*, within their own selves.

Another important text which is very popular among *Mahāyānists* is the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra*. It is available in four Mss. This *sūtra* displays that the *Hinayānists* make only some spiritual progress but it is *Mahayāna*, the 'Lotus of true Dharma' through which one becomes *Buddha*.

One valuable Ms. contains the *Samādhirājasūtra*. It is a *sūtra* in both prose and verse. The prose portion mostly reproduces the contents of the verses. *Samādhiraja* text displays the realisation of the Truth which is attributeless. With

regard to these texts the Gilgit collection represents an earlier, and thus historically important, material for the study of the history of *Mahāyāna* literature.

From the late *Mahāyānic* literature, the *Saṅghāṭasūtra* is available in eight Mss. This *sūtra* was known from its Chinese, Khotanese and Tibetan translations. *Śaka* version of this *sūtra* was discovered in Central Asia. *Saṅghāṭa* is the name of a hell. In this hell the punishments inflicted upon the sinners are extremely severe. The text opens with the statement that by listening to this *sūtra* one can not only get rid of the worst hellish sins but can also attain Buddhahood. Describing hellish sufferings, it refers particularly to the non-Buddhists, who suffered in hells and were ultimately rescued by the *Buddha* with the help of this *sūtra*.[110]

With similar thesis, the *Bhaiśajyagurusūtra* is available in four Mss. These Mss. represent two different recentions of the text.

The *Ratnaketuparivarta* or the *Mahasannipāta-Ratnaketu-sūtra* is available in a fragmentary ms. of composite nature. The text opens with the conversion of *Śārīputra* giving vivid account of *Māra's* attempt to misguide *Śārīputra*.[111]

The *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, a text differing from its namesake of the Nepalese tradition, is identified in two Mss. (one folio only of one ms. is preserved, the other ms. of eighty-two folios is extant in fifty leaves). This text is devoted mainly to the glorification of *Avalokiteśvara* and details how he helps those who are in distress.[112]

There are some mss. available from *Vyākaraṇa* class also, such as *Mahādevīvyākaraṇa*, *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, etc. In these, *Buddha* foretells the events of those who are likely to become *Buddhas* (enlightened).[113]

To the class of *Dhāraṇis* belong a number of mss., viz., *Mahāmayūrī* (one ms. containing the name of the king *Navasurendrādityanandin*); *Mahāprātisāra* (different mss., some containing names of individuals); *Hirnyāvatīdhāraṇi* (one folio only), etc. The texts of this class give some *mantras*, through the repeated utterance of which one is pro-

tected from all worldly troubles and is led to higher noble existence.

Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya-kārikā of *Nāgārjuna* has been recently identified in the collection. It points to the popularity of such a text in the Gilgit area.

It is thus clear that the collection of Gilgit Mss. was not discovered in its entirety, because most of the Mss. and texts are incomplete. But at the same time this collection still enjoys great significance. It could give an idea of the Buddhism practiced in the Gilgit region in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. In Philosophy, i.e., *Abhidharma*, the text of the *Sarvāstivāda* school seems to have been in practice. In *Vinaya* literature the text of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* school must have been popular. Find of important *Mahāyāna* texts viz., *Prajñāpāramita* and *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* and other minor *Mahāyāna* texts are sure instances of the popularity of these texts in the region. On the ritualistic aspect are found various tantric tract and *dhāraṇis* and two of the *Pañcaraksa*[114] collection, copied.

It seems that the region had the close connection with Khotan. A large number of Buddhist texts in their Khotanese translations have been identified with their original Sanskrit in this collection. In the *deya-dharma* formulas of some mss. are recorded the names of persons of Khotanese origin and also of persons of other language groups. For instance, we get the following sequence of four kings of the local *Patola Ṣāhi* dynasty :

(i) *Vajrādityanandin*,
(ii) *Vikramādityanandin*,
(iii) *Surendravikramādityanandin*, and
(iv) *Navasurendrādityanandin*.

The texts of the collection also possess important Philological features through which is observed the gradual development of certain texts. These mss. are written in changing form of the post-Gupta *Brāhmī*, now called the Gilgit *Brāhmī*. A paleographic investigation in proto-*Śāradā* script can yield important results.

III. iii. *Buddhist Kāvya Literature of Kashmir* : (a) *Śivasvāmin's Kapphinābhyudaya* : *Kapphinābhyudaya*, being a contribution to Sanskrit literature in general, is particularly a contribution to Buddhist literature produced in Kashmir. This poetical work deals with a Buddhist legend of the king *Kapphina*, well-known in both Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist literature. It is the composition of a Kashmiri scholar *Śivasvāmin*. Uptill 1893 *Śivasvāmin* was known only through several stanzas attributed to him in anthologies and in *Kavikanthābharana* of *Kṣemendra*. It was the first time in the year 1893 that the poem *Kapphinābhyudaya* by *Bhattaśivasvāmin* was dealt in detail in the description of manuscripts by Sesagiri Sastrin.[115] In this description the quotations from the poem given in the *Tikasarvasva* of *Sarvānanda* and in the *Subhāśitāvali* of *Vallabhadeva* were also traced and identified. Then some fuller description of the stanzas attributed to *Śivasvamin* in different anthologies and of the quotations from his *Kapphinābhyudaya* were provided by F.W. Thomas in his *Kavindravacanasamuccaya*.[116] There are some transcripts of the poem available[117] but the original manuscript is lost. With the help of transcripts the text was critically edited for the first time with an introduction by Pandit Gauri Shankar in 1937.[118]

Date of Śivasvāmin : *Śivasvāmin* was contemporary of *Muktakāna*, the poet *Ānandavardhana* and *Ratnākara* who lived and acquired fame during the reign of *Avantivarmān* (855/6-883 A.D).[119] At the end of his work *Kapphinābhyudaya*, the poet, has given an account of himself.[120] According to this account and also the colophon, he belonged to Kashmir and his father was *Bhattārkasvāmin*. *Śivasvāmin* calls his poem '*Śuktih saktsrih*' which, he expresses, has been written at the instance and encouragement of his Buddhist preceptor *Candramitra*. He dedicates his poem to *Śiva*—which clearly shows that although he was a *Śaiva* and not a Buddhist by faith, he was well-versed in Buddhist lore, that is why it could be possible for him to write on the subject with such authority.

Sources of the Kapphinābhyudaya : *Kapphinābhyudaya*, the poetic work of *Śivasvāmin* in twenty cantos is based on

the story of the *Avadānaśataka*.[121] Besides *Avadānaśataka* the story of *Kapphīna* is found in the *Manorathapūrani*,[122] a commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*.[123] In this way the legend of *Kapphina* is preserved in the Sanskrit *Avadānaśataka* and the Pāli commentaries. Also, we find the story of king *Kappina* in '*Buddhaghośa's* parables'.[124] On the carving of the wall in the *Barabudur* temple in Java, *Kapphina* is named among the *Śrāvakas*.[125] In the work under reference he is described as a king of *Līlāvati* situated on the banks of *Narmadā* in the *Vindhyas*.[126] Although the legend of *Kapphina* is preserved in many traditions, *Śivasvāmin* has mainly followed the version of *Avadānaśataka* in writing his *Kappinābhyudaya*. The poet has introduced only some minor changes into his work.[127]

Abstract of the work : Invoking the blesssings of *Lord Buddha*, '*Śivasvāmin* opens his work with a description of king *Kapphina* and his capital. He describes *Kapphina* as a skilled and adventurous king who had employed spies everywhere in his kingdom as well as outside it.[128] Once a spy from the North returned with the news of the vanity of the king *Prasenajit* who ruled over the flourishing kingdom of *Kośala*. Here the poet has impressively described *Śrāvasti* (modern Sahet Mahet), the capital of king *Prasenajit* which had been a favourite resort of the Buddha. The king was loved by his subjects but had a feeling of enmity towards the king *Kapphina*.[129] On hearing about the hostile attitude of king *Prasenajit* the whole assembly of the king *Kapphina* was enraged.[130] A council about a war against him was held.[131] Before going to war a messenger was sent to *Prasenajit* as a necessary measure.[132] In the meantime king *Kapphina* was invited by his friend, a demigod (*Vidyādhara*) named *Vicitrabāhu*, to visit his abode the *Malaya* mountain.[133] King *Kapphina* stayed there comfortably for some time[134] and after retiring to his capital he led an expedition against *Prasenajit* who preferred to go to war than submit himself to *Kapphina*.[135] He propitiated the *Buddha* before going to war.[136] The army of *Prasenajit* was put to flight. Finding himself helpless, *Prasenajit* prayed to Lord *Buddha* for help. The Lord appeared and king *Kapphina* was over-powered by means of

a miracle. He found no other way to get himself free but to surrender himself to the *Buddha*.[137] He paid homage to *Buddha*. Then he heard a sermon of the *Buddha* who appeared before him. Thus *Kapphina* expressed a desire to enter the order of the Buddhist monkhood. But he was stopped from doing so and advised not to renounce the world but to practice selflessness before seeking entry into the monk-hood. The *Buddha* disappeared and the king retired to his kingdom.[138] Thus ended the story of the king *Kapphina*.

Buddhist Ideal Preserved in the Work : The Buddhist element is preserved throughout the poem. *Buddha* is in-voked in the benedictory verse of the poem.[139] Mount *Malaya* is compared to the calm and sublime image of the *Buddha*.[140] In the seventeenth verse of the twentieth canto, the *Buddha* preaches a sermon on the ***Hetu-Mala***,[141] the chain of causes which bind a person to the mortal world. He particularly emphasises detachment from the material world as pre-requi-site for the achievement of salvation. The same point is described in detail in the *Avadānaśataka*. King *Kapphina* hearing the sermon of the *Buddha* exclaims[142] :

"The sermon has now rent the intense opacity of my eyes, I have now suddenly awakened from sleep. Sunk deep in the sea of doubts I have been lifted to perfect safety by these words of Thee, the Master".

King *Kapphina* expresses his desire to enter the monk-hood but the *Buddha* cautions[143] :

"It is true, my son, that endowed with correct vision to discriminate truth from untruth, a man like you is qualified for the bhiksu's mode of life. But you have to wait for some time before you attain it. Verily, consummation achieved by earnest desire is sure to come at its proper time."

Great stress has been laid upon selflessness and eversion to worldly pleasures in the Buddhist creed. The same thing has been emphasised in the work also. Having disallowed the immediate entry into the monkhood soon after hearing his sermon, the Lord asked *Kapphina* to rule his kingdom for the three jewels[144] :

"Do thou, O jewel of the earth, govern the earth with faith, purity, and devotion, not for pleasure which is transi-

tory by nature, not for life, not for wealth, not for glory, but for the three precious jewels (the *Buddha*, the *Dharma* and the *Sangha*)".

"Verily those who have faith in the law, regard for the real Truth, courage to give, ardour for compassion, fervour for forbearance, love for righteousness, an eye for self-control achieve salvation even while they live as householders."

A large number of Buddhist terms,[145] occur in the poem which shows *Śivasvamin's* familiarity with the Buddhist philosophy. He must have received adequate training in Buddhist lore and philosophy from his teacher *Chandramitra*, a prominent monk of his time. Whole of the nineteenth canto is an eulogy in *Prākrit* in which the *Buddha* has been glorified and homage paid to him by king *Kapphina*. This may indicate the influence of the Pāli canonical literature on him.

The work presents a striking testimony to the religious freedom and the eclectic and catholic spirit of the age in which Buddhism flourished side by side with other *brāhmanical* faiths like *Śaivism* and *Vaiśnavism*.

(b) *Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā* : Avadānakalpalatā is a contribution to traditional *Avadāna* literature. It has been composed by the well-known Kashmiri poet *Kṣemendra* and his son *Somendra* during the 11th century. The latter has added, besides an introduction, one more chapter to his father's work which contained 107 *avadānas*. *Somendra* added one more *avadāna* in order to make the number 108 which is considered auspicious number. *Avadānakalpalatā* is a huge collection of *avadānas* or which were called *Jātakas* in early Buddhist tradition. *Kṣemendra* has drawn up the traditional *avadānas* but in a poetical form. As is evident by its name, '*Kalpalatā*' is really a wish yielding creeper of the great achievements of *Boddhisattva*. Its sub-divisions are also metaphorically given the name '*Pallava*' or leaves under which one can repose in an contented state.

No complete collection of the work was available in India for several centuries. In the collection of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, brought from Nepal, appeared only the second half of the work. In an invocatory verse in this collection was indicated the non-availability of the first half

of the *avadānas*.[146] But during the middle of 1882, Late Shri S.C. Das discovered a clean block-print copy of this work.[147] He could find it in *Potala* Printing establishment at *Lhasa* (Tibet). It was printed during 1662-63 A.D. and contained 620 folios with a transliteration of Sanskrit text in Tibetan script and also a Tibetan translation side by side. The manuscript of this work was presented to the *Śākya Pandita Kun-dgah-rgyal-msthan* by *Śākya Śrī Pandit* of Kashmir in 1202 A.D. It was translated into Tibetan seventy years later by *Sonton Lo-tsā-ba* under the auspices of *Phags-pa*, the spiritual guide of the Emperor *Kublai Khan*. Illustrious *Sonton lo-tsa-ba* translated this work under the guidance of Indian *Pandita Mahakavi Lakshmīkarā* at the monastery of *Dge-hdun bshi sde* in *Manyul* (*Kirong*). Then the work, along with its translation, was first in block print by celebrated *Shwalu lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen chos skyon bsan-po*. S.C. Das and Harimohan Vidyabhushan have published the Tibetan-Sanskrit bilingual edition of the text in *Bibliotheca Indica series* (1888-1913 A.D.). The Sanskrit text was again edited by P.L. Vaidya in 1959. But it is not complete; only volume I has come out till now.

In his introduction to *Avadānakalpalatā*, *Somendra* says that it was first of all *Sajjanānanda*, a *brāhmana*, who requested *Kṣemendra* to write the *avadānas*. *Then* a learned friend of *Kṣemendra*, called *Nyakka*, also put forth the same request. Subsequently *Kṣemendra* undertook the task of writing the *Avadānakalpalatā*, but finding the task very lengthy he discontinued after writing only three *avadānas*. *Somendra* further says that it was after this incident that the *Buddha* himself in a dream initiated him to complete the work. So, *Kṣemendra* re-embraced his efforts for writing the *avadānas*. *Ācārya Viryabhadra*, an authority on Buddhistic treatises, came to assist him and *Ācārya Sūryaśrī* was the scribe. Then *Somendra* gives the date of the completion of this work saying that in the 27th year, i.e., in 1052 A.D. at the beginning of *Vaiśākha* (the brithday of the *Buddha)*, that the '*Kalpalatā*' was completed.

The author of the work, *Kṣemendra* belonged to the line of the ministers of Kashmir. The name of his father

was *Prakāśendra* and that of his grandfather *Sindhu*. The latter was the son of *Bhogendra* who again was the son of *Narendra*, the minister of King *Jayapida* of Kashmir.[148] This king was the grandson of king *Lalitāditya*.[149] *Kṣemendra* has manys work to his credit some of which are known by name only. He has composed his works during the reigns of king *Ananta* (1028-1063 A.D.) and his son *Kalaṣa* (1063-1089 A.D.) as is evident from his works available to us. In this way, he must have lived during the 11th century A.D. *Kṣemendra* had a variety of interests and has written on different subjects. Being influenced by Buddhism also he must have studied the Buddhist religion very deeply. Finding himself well acquainted with the religion, his friends might have extended to him the request of writing the *avadānas*, which he could accomplish successfully. Further, being impressed by the faith he included the *Buddha*, among the ten incarnations of *Visnu*, in his *Daṣāvatāracarita*.[150]

In the beginning this work had a mixed reception in Tibet on the grounds that it was written by a layman and not by a monk. Because of their inperfect acquaintance with the *Sūtras* and *Āgamas*, some *Lamas* of Tibet even charged that the work contained matters which differed from the real *Jātakas* of the *Buddha*. But in due course of time the Tibetan scholars realised the merits of this work and started appreciating it. A large number of Tibetan translators as well as scholars devoted their attention to the study of this work which contained the largest number of *avadānas* than any other work of this class.[151] Each *avadāna* contains a distinct story of an incident in the life of the *Buddha* illustrating a particular moral. The Buddhist propensity of self-sacrifice is brought to a climax here. In the last chapter the author has illustrated very well the six perfections (*Paramitas*), viz., charity, moral character, patience, deligence, contemplation and wisdom, of the *Boddhisattva*. Describing the merits of *Avadānakalpalatā*, *Somendra* says[152] :

"'Those well-known *Viharas*, gorgeous with the array of pictures, pleasing to the eye, have passed away in the cause of time. But the *Vihara* of moral merits, excellent and delightful, erected by my father, in which the *avadānas*, with

weighty meanings underlying them, are carved out, as it were, and painted in variegated colours by the pencil of the goddess of learning, will not perish even at the end of time, not even by the ravages of fire or of water."

1. Jan yun Hua, *op. cit.*, p. 103,
2. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
3. Gokhale, V.V., *2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 65.
4. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 43 ; Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
6. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 147 ; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
7. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 70 ; *supra*, p. 25.
8. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 69 ; *supra*, p. 27.
9. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 169.
10. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ; Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 160 ; *supra*, p. 25-26.
11. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 73 ; *supra*, p. 27.
12. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 161.
13. *Infra*, p. 82.
14. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
16. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 50 ; *supra*, p. 24.
17. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 103 ; *supra*, pp. 34.
18. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 194 ; *supra*, p. 40.
19. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 163.
20. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ; *supra*, p. 26.
21. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 54 ; Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 46-47.
22. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
25. *Ibid.*

26. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. xi.
27. *Ibid.*, p. xii ; Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
28. *Ibid.*, *supra*, p. 56.
29. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
30. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 137 ; *supra*, p. 32.
31. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 166.
32. *Ibid*.
33. *Ibid.*; Banerjee, A.C., *The Jñānaprasthānasūtra*, Maha Bodhi, Vol. 63, no. 7, 1955, p. 295.
34. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 167.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
36. Roerich, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
37. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 103 ; *supra*, p. 34.
38. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 234 ; *supra*, p. 48.
39. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 54 ; *supra*, p. 24.
40. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ; *supra*, p. 25.
41. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 259 ; *supra*, p. 31.
42. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 103 ; *supra*, pp. 34, 36.
43. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 214 ; *supra*, p. 13.
44. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 280 ; *supra*, pp. 14.
45. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 282 ; *supra*, p. 16.
46. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 282 ; *supra*, p. 17.
47. Aiyaswami, N., *Buddhist Studies in India*, p. 91 ; Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 168 ; *supra*, p. 14.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
49. Jan yun Hua, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
50. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. xi ; *supra*, p. 14.
51. Jan yun Hua, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
52. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ; *supra*, p. 25.
53. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ; *supra*, p. 26.
54. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 73 ; *supra*, p. 28.
55. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81 ; *supra*, p. 30-31.
56. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 116 ; *supra*, p. 32.
57. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 137 ; *supra*, p. 32.
58. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 101 ; *supra*, p. 34.
59. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4; *supra*, pp. 35.

60. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4 ; *supra*, pp. 36.
61. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p.196 ; *supra*, p. 41-42.
62. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 217 ; *supra*, p. 44-45.
63. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 224 ; *supra*, p. 39-40.
64. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228 ; *supra*, p. 45-46.
65. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 230 ; *supra*, p. 23.
66. Naudou, *op. cit.*. p. 233 ; *supra*, p. 47.
67. Naudou. *op. cit.*, p. 233 ; *supra*, p. 48.
68. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 221 ; *supra*, p. 45.
69. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 236 ; *supra*, p. 49.
70. *Supra*, p. 33.
71. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127 : *supra*, p. 21.
72. Naudou, *op cit.*, p. 231 ; *supra*, p. 23.
73. *Supra*, p. 46.
74. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 231 ; *supra*, p. 46.
75. *Supra*, pp. 23.
76. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 105 ; *supra*, p. 35.
77. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 170 ; *supra*, p. 38.
78. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 197 ; *supra*, p. 42.
79. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 221 ; *supra*, pp. 40.
80. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 227 ; *supra*, p. 46.
81. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 234 ; *supra*, p. 48.
82. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 252 ; *supra*, p. 53.
84. Winternitz, Maurice, *The History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 80, 380.
85. *Supra*, pp. 19.
86. *Supra*, pp. 20-21.
87. *Supra*, p. 21.
88. *Supra*, p. 21.
89. *Supra*, pp. 22-23.
90. *Supra*, pp. 36-37.
91. *Supra*, p. 38-39.
92. *Supra*, pp. 41.
93. *Supra*, p. 42.
94. *Supra*, pp. 43-44.

95. *Supra*, pp. 44-45.
96. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 228 ; *supra*, p. 46.
98. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 233, 234 ; *supra*, p. 48.
99. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248 ; *supra*, pp. 51-52.
100. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-252 ; *supra*, p. 50.
101. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256 ; *supra*, p. 53.
102. Naudou, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-257 ; *supra*, p. 53.
103. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 258 ; *supra*, p. 54.
104. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
105. Jan yun Hua, *Studies in Asian History and Culture*, ed. by Buddha Prakash, Meerut, 1970, pp. 77, 88.
106. The Statesman of July 24, 1931 (quoted from Dutt, N., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. I, Intro. P. 41. Present survey is mainly based on the lecture delivered by Tripathi, C.B., on *a brief survey of the Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*, in July, 1982, in the centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir.
107. Dutt, N., *Gilgit Manuscript the Vinaya Pitaka*, IHQ (Winternitz Memorial Number), June, 1938, p. 209.
108. cf. Dutt, N., *Gilgit Manuscripts*; *Kashmir*, July 1956, p. 172
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*
114. '*Five Protecting Spells*' are :
    (i) *Mahā-Pratisāra*, for protection against sin, disease and other evils,
    (ii) *Mahā-Sahasrapramardini*, against evil spirits,
    (iii) *Mahā-Mayūri*, agains snake-poison,
    (iv) *Mahā-Sitavati*, against hostile planets, wild animals and poisonous insects, and
    (v) *Mahā (raksa) mantrānusārini*, against diseases ; cf. Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. II, p. 385.
115. 'Sastrin, M. Sesagiri, *Report No. 2*, Govt. Oriental Library, Madras, 1893-94, pp. 49-56, 195-199.

116. Thomas, F.W., *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, Bibliotheca Indica, New series No. 1309 ; Keith, A.B., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, pp. 133, 134.

117. Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras has three transcripts one in Telugu (11462) and the other two in Devanagari (11463) and (11461).

118. Gauri Shankar, *Śivasvāmin's Kapphinābhyudaya*, Lahore, 1937.

119. *Rājataranginī*, Ch. V., v. 34.

120. *Canto* 20, Vv., 43-45; *Colophon* :

'इति स्तोत्राह्निकाङ्कस्य काश्मीरकस्य भट्ट श्रीशिवस्वामिनः कृतौ कप्फिणाभ्युदये महाकाव्ये शिवाङ्केऽभ्युदलाभो नाम............।'

121. *Avadānaśataka*, ed. Speyer, J.S., Bibliotheca Buddhica, III.

122. *Manorathapūrani*, Pali Text Society, Vol. I.

123. *Pali Text Society*, Vol. II.

124. Rogers, T., *Buddhaghosa's Parables*, 1870.

125. Gauri Shankar, *op. cit.*, pp. xLii-xLiii.

126. *Canto*. I, v. 2.

127. Gauri Shankar, *op. cit.*, p. xxi.

128. *Canto*. I, vv. 2-44.

129. *Canto*. II, vv. 23-53.

130. *Canto* III, vv. 1-43.

131. *Canto*. IV.

132. *Canto*. V, vv. 16-49.

133. *Ibid.*, V. vv. 50-51.

134. *Canto*. VI.

135. *Ibid.*, v. 23.

136. *Canto*. XVI, vv. 128-130.

137. *Canto*. XVIII. vv. 1-151.

138. *Canto*. XX.

139. *Canto*. I, v. 1 :

"सर्वज्ञतादिगुणगोचरमाययौ या
ध्येया यतोऽपि यतिबन्धुरबोधि बोधिः ।
सा सत्यनिर्धुतचतुर्विधविभ्रमार्ति—
र्मूर्तिर्दृशां दिशतु दाशबली शिवं वः ॥"

140. *Canto*. VI, v. 23 :

"कृतनन्दनाङ्गदमलं क्षमया शतमाहितं शुभविभागहनम् ।
वृतदक्षिणांसमभिजातरुचिं प्रणमन्त्यमुजिनमिवेह जनाः ॥

141. *Canto.* xx, V. 17 :
"दुःखस्कन्धे सामुदायं गतेऽर्थं नैरोधी धीरत्र धीरैर्निधेया ।
उन्मूल्येमां हेतुमालां भजेदं धर्मात् सत्त्वं तस्य सत्ता सुसत्ता ॥"
also cf."
"ये धर्मः हेतुप्रभवाः हेतुं तेषां तथागतोह्यावदात् ।
तेषां च यो निरोधः एवं वादी महाश्रामनः ॥"

142. *Canto.* Xx, v. 24.
143. *Ibid.*, v. 30.
144. *Ibid.*, Vv. 32, 38.
145. Gauri Shankar, *op. cit.*, pp. xLiv-xLvi.
146. Vaidya, P.L., *Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā*, Vol. I, Intro. p. viii.
147. Dass, S.C., *Avadāna Kalpalatā by kṣemendra,* Bibliotheca Indica series, Prefeatory Note.
148. *Ibid.*, pp. xxv-xxix.
149. Kalhaṇa, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV, v. 359.
150. *Daśāvatāracarita*, Canto IX.
151. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, Intro. p. vii.
152. Introduction to 108th *Pallava*, vv 11-13 :
"संसक्तनेत्रामृतचित्रचित्राः कालेन ते ते विगता विहाराः ।
सरस्वती तूलिकया विचित्रवर्णक्रमैः सङ्कलितावदानः ।
तातेन योऽयं विहितो महार्थः सन्नन्दनः पुण्यमयोविहारः ।
न तस्य नाशोऽस्ति युगक्षयेऽपि जलानलोल्लासपरिप्लवेन ।"

Buddhist Metaphysics — As Expounded in Vijnaptimatrata-Siddhi of Vasubandhu

Buddhist metaphysics as expounded by various Buddhist doctrines have their main source in the innumerable dialogues of *Buddha* contained in the *Sūutrapiṭaka*. Actually, *Buddha* did not aim to set a new philosophy but he deemed the highest goal of a man to be the stage in which there is neither birth nor death. This stage could be attained through *Jñāna* or *Bodhi* (absolute illumination). According to *Buddha*, the self is something which can be built up by good thoughts and deeds (actions). But best is to be free from *Karma* (actions) as freedom from *Karma* leads one to *arhatship* and consequently to *nirvaṇa*. *Nirvaṇa* is extinction of birth and death. Once *Buddha*, while pointing to the flame of a lamp, said that it was passing through a cycle of rebirth and death. Then the *Buddha* blew out the flame and said, "The flame is now extinguished. It will not burn any longer. The same is the case with an *arhat* who attains *nirvāṇa* for he will be born no more".[1] *Buddha's* teachings conveyed ethical meaning and it was after the *Buddha's Parinirvāṇa* that the Buddhist thinkers like *Nāgarjuna*, *Asaṇga*, *Vasubandhu* and others provided a metaphysical outlook to *Buddha's* teachings. *Ārya Nāgārjuna* (2nd. Cen. A.D.) was the originator of the *Madhyamika* school which laid great emphasis on *mādhyama-Pratipat*

(the middle view). In his first sermon at Benaras,[2] the *Buddha* preached Middle Path, which is neither mortification nor a life devoted to pleasures of the senses. On the basis of this teaching of the *Buddha*, the *Mādhyamika* school advocated neither the theory of reality nor that of the unreality of the world but merely of relativity. It teaches that *Śūnyata* (the indescribable absolute) is the absolute. *Mādhyamika-kārikā* of *Nāgārjuna* is considered as the basic work of this school. *Abhidharmakośa* of *Vasubandhu*[3] (4th Cen. A.D.) contains an exposition of the Philosophy of the *Sarvāstivāda* school. It is an encyclopaedia of Buddhist Philosophy. *Sarvam asti* (all things exist) advocated by this school occurs in the *Samyuttanikāya*[4] as *Sabbham atthi*. This school emphasised the idea that it was not only the things in the present that existed, but also the things in the past and future, which were in continuity with the present. *Yogācāra* is another important school of Buddhist thought. *Ācārya Asaṇga* has been regarded as the most prominent teacher of this school. This school emphasised the practice of the *Yogā* (meditation) as the most effective method for the attainment of the highest truth (*Bodhi*). *Asaṇga's Yogācāra-bhūmi-Śāstra* is the most important work of this school. The name *Vijñānavāda* was given to the same school (*Yogācāra*) by *Vasubandhu* as it holds *Vijñāptimātra* (nothing but consciousness) to be the ultimate reality. *Vijñāptimātratā-Siddhi* is the basic work of this system. The *Yogācāra* brings out the practical side of philosophy, while as the *Vijñānavāda* brings out its speculative feature. *Yogācāra* and *Mādhyamika* differ only in that the former holds that reality is *Vijñānamātra* (Pure-consciousness), while the latter believes it to be *Śūnyatā* (indescribable).

Vijñānavāda is the fully developed school of Buddhist thought set by the great scholar *Vasubandhu* in his small but invaluable work—the *Vijñāptimātratā-Siddhi*.[5] *Vasubhandhu* did not confine himself only with one school but studied all of them with great interest. He composed *Abhidharmakośa* from the *Sarvāstivādin* point of view. By the time he explained it, he had acquired more knowledge and as such he did not hesitate to criticise the *Sarvāstivādins* on some points.

He further expounded the *Vijñanāvāda* which received great prominence in India and abroad. *Abhidharmakośa* can be regarded as stepping stone to the *Vijñānavāda*. Says Bagchi[6] : "It is based on the seven metaphysical works of the *Sarvāstivāda* school. *Hiuan-Tsang* translated most of these works into Chinese. The pilgrim wanted to popularise the ideas of this school because they were useful for a proper understanding of *Vijñānavāda*. In fact *Vasubandhu* himself meant his famous *Abhidharmakośa* to be a stepping stone to the *Vijñānavāda*."

In this Chapter an effort has been made to present a critical and descriptive account of the *Vijñāptimātratā-Siddhi* found in two recensions entitled the *Viṃśikā* and the *Triṃśikā* containing twenty and thirty verses respectively. According to the colophone of this work *Vasubandhu* wrote a short commentary on the *Viṃśikā* and his disciple *Sthirmati* wrote on the *Triṃśikā*. It was translated into Chinese as well as Tibetan. *Jinmitra* and *Dānaśila* were two Kashmiri Buddhist scholars of the 9th century A.D. who translated *Viṃśikākārikā* into Tibetan.[7] *Jinamitra* also translated a *Vṛtti* of this work with other collaborators.[8] The *Pañcaskandhabhāṣya* and the Kashmiri *Vinitadeva's Prakaraṇaviṃśakāṭikā* are the texts attached to it and were also translated by *Jinamitra* and *Dānaśila* into Tibetan with the help of other collaborators.[9] Another Kashmiri scholar *Ravigupta*, who lived during the eighth century A.D. declared that the views of *Nāgārjuna* and *Asaṅga* in setting their respective concepts of the supreme reality—*Śūnyatā* and *Cittamātata*, are identical.[10]

According to the philosophical tradition preserved in the *Vijñānavāda* Buddhism especially in the *Vijñāptimātrātā-Siddhi* there is only one reality—*Vijñāna*. The terms like *Cittam, Manas, Vijñāna* are different only in their structure but convey the same meaning as mind or consciousness.[11] Thus *Vasubandhu* propounds in this text that *Vijñana* is the only reality, which in other words, means that mind alone is real. The other things which we see, hear, taste, touch, etc., are unreal. They are the manifestations of mind. He emphatically expresses that the mind itself manifests in two ways : as 'receiver' and 'things received' (*grāhya grāhaka-*

bhāva). There is no reality in external objects; they are nothing but mere appearances. To attest to his theory, *Vasubandhu* makes clear in the very first verse with the help of an illustration: *Taimirika* is a person who has got a diseased eye. The disease is called *timira-roga*. A man suffering from this disease sees everywhere the bunches of hair and the twin moon. Actually speaking there are no bunches of hair, there are also no two moons, but he sees so. This clarifies that the bunches of hair are unreal, the two moons are also unreal, but they are seen by the man diseased with *timira-roga*. Similarly we, under the influence of *Vāsanā* (impressions) coming from time immemorial, see external objects in their various forms as existing in the world of reality. Really speaking, they are unreal just like the bunches of hair and two moons. Under this background he (*Vasubandhu*) expresses that *Vijñāna* only is real—"It is all mere ideation because the non-existing things appear as seemingly external objects as persons, having bad eyes, see non-real hair, texture and the like".[12]

The world consciousness is formed of either subjectivity or objectivity. These are not real in true sense but are superimpositions on variant manifestations of *Vijñāna*. Imposition is ascribing a thing to where it does not exist. For instance a bull is ascribed to the man of the *Vahāka* country. Since a man cannot be a bull it is only a superimposition on him. So is the case with *Vijñāna*, worldliness is superimposed on it. Manifestation is being otherwise. It means the appearance of a thing distinct from its natural form. Manifestation of *Vijñāna* is the result of the transcendental illusion of subjectivity and objectivity as the appearance of the bunches of hair is the result of *timira-roga*. *Vijñāna*, on which subjectivity and objectivity is superimposed, is manifested in innumerable forms. According to *Vijñānavāda*[13] Buddhism, it is manifested at three stages, known as, *Vipāka*, *manan* and *Vishaya-Vijñāna*. These three stages are called *Ālaya-Vijñāna*, *Mano-vijñāna* and *Pravṛtti-Vijñāna* respectively.

ĀLAYA-VIJÑĀNA: The word *ālaya* connotes various meanings, as 'a place', 'ground' or 'base'. *Vijñāna* is consciousness. Thus *ālaya-vijñāna* is such a stage of conscious-

ness which is the ground or base of all stages of consciousness (*Vijñānas*). It evidently functions as base of all *Vijñānas* because all of them come into existence under its reliance. This can be understood by the instance of a calm ocean and an ocean with its whirling waves. The calm ocean is smooth in its real form, but when it gets disturbed by the wind, different waves start rising from it. Here the smooth ocean can be compared with the *ālaya-vijñāna* and different waves with all other *Vijñānas*. Because *ālaya-vijñāna* is the fundamental and tranquil flow of ultimate *Vijñāna* and all other *Vijñānas* are influenced by different *Vāsanās* (impressions) arising from it. Hence being a base of all *Vijñānas*, *ālaya-vijñāna* preserves all *Vijñānas* in the form of cause and all *Vijñānas* are preserved in it in the form of effect. Cause is the impression (*Vāsanā*) of different deeds always left in *ālaya-vijñāna* and effect is the matured influence (*Vipāka*) of these impressions. Matured impressions are performances of different deeds as good, bad or indifferent. Thus on the ground of *ālaya-vijñāna*, the continuous flow of cause and effect is going on. But once this flow of cause and effect is realised as unreal, their existence is eradicated ; they remain there no more. Thus, the *ālaya-vijñāna* is realised as *Vijñāptimātratā*. So is said by *Buddha*[14]—

"External is the consciousness,
the source of all entities.
With this (functioning), (are attained)
the stages, the *Nirvāṇa* or
the knowledge".

Ālaya-vijñāna gives the meaning of a place or store-house also. Store-house is where innumerable things are kept; innumerable in the sense that various kinds of things, which may be good, bad or of indifferent kinds—all are kept in store-house. Similarly, various experiences of good, bad or indifferent deeds are stored in *ālaya-vijñāna* and as such it is called store-house-consciousness. In the existing soles of different forms and stages it is seen that *Vijñāna* flows every moment in the form of good (*kuśala*), bad (*akuśala*) and in-

different (*upekśā*) deeds. It means that in this world all human beings perform actions every moment which are of different natures, viz., good, bad or indifferent. These actions are grouped under '*karma*' also. Whatever type of action is performed by whosoever (human being), the impressions of those actions are left in *ālaya-vijñāna*. These impressions are called *Vipāka* or *Vāsanā*. *Ālaya-vijñāna*, alongwith *Vipāka* or *Vāsanā* of good, bad or indifferent deeds, continues to flow just like a flow of stream which flows continuously with straws, pieces of wood, cow-dung, etc. Hence a repository of all *Vāsanās*, *ālaya-vijñāna* is called a store-house consciousness.

Vasubandhu calls it *Vipāka* and *Sarvabījaka*.[15] *Vipāka*, *Vāsanā* and *Samskāra* give the same meaning as impressions or seeds of actions (*karma*) which give rise to further effects. From the time immemorial *ālaya-vijñāna* is but an aggregate of *Vāsanās*. *Vipāka* is the matured influence of good, bad or indifferent *Vāsanās*. Hence *Vipāka* of all deeds in regard to all *dhātus* (bearings); *gatis* (future births); *yonis* (states of existence) and *jatis* (origination); *ālaya-vijñāna* is called *Vipāka*.

Again, it is *Sarvabījaka* as the operation of *ālaya-vijñāna* never stops but continues to give rise to further *Vijñānas* stored in it in the form of seeds (*bīja*) of all *Vāsanās*. The *Vāsanās* stored in *ālaya-vijñāna* give rise to further *Vijñāna* which again leave their impressions or seeds in the *ālaya-vijñāna* and thus the process is carried on. As such, possessing the seeds of all *Vāsanas*, *ālaya-vijñāna* is called *Sarvabījaka*. The *Vipāka and Sarvabījaka* are but two aspects of *alaya-vijñāna*. Former being the replenishment of *Vāsnās* in *ālaya* and the latter the fructification of these *Vāsanās* into further *Vijñānas*.[16]

MANO-VIJÑĀNA: The second stage of the manifestation of *Vijñāna is Mano-Vijñāna*. It is also called afflicted *manas* (*klista manas*) or seventh consciousness (*saptam Vijñāna*).[17] The function of this *Vijñāna* in the evolutionary process is not very clear. However, it serves as a link between the *ālaya-Vijñāna* and the *Pravṛtti-Vijñānas*; because the former has an indeterminate content whereas the latter has a

determinate content. Between these two *Vijñānas* there is the process of determination and the *mano-vijñāna* serves this transitional function. It maintains the distinction between the two *Vijñānas* and makes possible the emergence of the object-consciousness out of the *ālaya-vijñāna*. Yamakami Sogen illustrates *mano-vijñāna* as a secretary,[18] saying that *mano-vijñāna* is the secretary who conveys the message of gatekeepers (the *pravṛtti-vijñāna*) to the Lord (*ālaya-vijñāna*) and transmits them to the gatekeepers (*pravṛtti-vijñānas*). Such is the mediatory function of *mano-vijñāna*. Because of its constant cogitative nature it is *manana* (*mananātmaka*.[19] Etymologically, mind (*mana*) is called so because of its nature of cogitation (*manana*).

Ālaya-vijñāna serves both the base as well as the object of *mano-vijñāna*. *Ālaya-vijñāna* is the base of its *vāsnās*. In whatever *dhātu* (bearing) or *bhūmi* (base); *ālaya-vijñāna* functions, *mano-vijñāna also* pertains to that very *dhātu* or *bhūmi*. Hence its functioning bound up with *ālaya-vijñāna* it proceeds on the basis of *ālaya-vijñāna*.

Ālaya-vijñāna universally associated with the false notion of the self as 'I and mine' (*Satkāyadṛṣṭi*), being the object of *mano-vijñāna*, *egoism*, 'I'-ness etc., arises from it. It differs from *ālaya-vijñāna* on account of its nature of cogitation.[20]

PRAVṚTTI-VIJÑĀNA : It is the third stage of the manifestation of *Vijñāna*. This stage comprises of six kinds of consciousness, viz., eye consciousness (*cakṣu-vijñāna*), ear consciousness (*srota-vijñāna*), smell consciousness (*ghrāna-vijñāna*), taste consciousness (*jihva-vijñāna*), touch consciousness (*kāya-vijñāna*) and thought consciousness (*mano-vijñāna*). These *Vijñānas* are called so because of their dependence upon the sense organs. The first five sense organs, i.e., eye (*cakṣu*), ear (*srota*), nose (*ghrāna*), tongue (*jihvā*), and body (*kāya*) make possible the awareness of visible-objects (*rūpa*), audible-object (*śabda*), odorous-object (*gandha*), sapid-object (*rasa*), and tangible object (*sparśatva*). The sixth *mano-vijñāna*, which is the consciousness of ideational objects, affects all *dharmas* (objects).[21]

It is a fact that the external objects like *rūpa*, *śabda*, etc., do not really exist but they appear due to the *Vāsanās* of moral and immoral consciousness coming from the hoary past. Even they are illusory and the real manifestation of consciousness is still. Since they appear, they have definite concepts which assume a form. A visible object (*rūpa*) appears in the form of some colour or shape. Blue, yellow, red, white, dark, black are different colours. Circular, triangular, a square, a big, a small, gross, subtle etc. are the various shapes. One conceives *rūpa* or visible object in such colours and shapes. The sound also appears in various forms as the sound of a conch or a drum or of a pipe or of snoring or of singing etc. The odour or *gandha* appears as good smell, bad smell, strong smell etc. The flavour or *rasa* appears as sweet, sour, savour, salty, bitter etc. The word *dharma* or the ideational object is a multi-significant term, here used as the object of mind. It includes in it five things, viz., consciousness (*citta*), psychic factors (*caittasik*), subtle material qualities (*sūkṣma rūpa*), concepts (*Prajñāpti*) and *Nirvāna*. All, except *nirvāna* are illusory, mere manifestations of consciousness.

The sought description of the three-fold manifestation, viz. *ālaya*, *kliṣṭa-mana* and *pravṛtti-vijñāna* have already been given. This may be illustrated with a simile : The bottom of an ocean is calm and quiet. It flows smoothly and has been storing, all the things thrown in it. There is the surface of the ocean which is full of waves—appearing, disappearing, tossing each other and roaring in various ways. There is always appearance and disappearance together with continuous movement with speedy force of generation and degeneration. The things thrown on the surface of the ocean sometimes lie in it and are seen moving with waves. After sometime, being pushed deeper, they lean towards the bottom of the ocean. Therefore there is another part of ocean inbetween the bottom and the surface which is rather very calm, not very much disturbed, simply remaining in a middle state, seen carrying the things from the surface to the bottom. In this background the bottom of the ocean may be compared with *ālaya-vijñāna*, the middle one

with the *kliṣṭa-mana*, and the surface with that of the *pravṛtti-vijñāna*. As the surface of the ocean is full of waves having the impressions of various kinds, similarly the *pravṛtti-vijñāna* has six types of objects always appearing and disappearing. The middle part of ocean functions as a link between the two parts, and *manana* now receives the impressions of the *pravṛtti-vijñāna* and leans towards the *ālaya-vijñāna* to keep them stored. The *ālaya-vijñāna* receives impressions and preserves them as a store-house, carrying the load of all such impressions and at the same time flowing.

CAITTASIK (PSYCHIC FACTORS): A brief description of the consciousness has been presented above in order to explain briefly the three-fold manifestation of the consciousness as *ālaya-vijñāna*, *mano-vijñāna* and *pravṛtti-vijñāna*. It is seen in this tradition, that *Vijñāna* is not a self-independent entity but it is a composition of so many psychic factors, technically known as *Caittasikas*. It cannot be said here definitely that the consciousness and psychic factors are also different entities existing and functioning separately, independent of each other. They are rather very closely associated factors arising from, and functioning on the same object and the same base. They cease to exist also in the same movement. They follow, act and also disappear simultaneously.[22] They can be separated and understood differently, only at the intellectual level. The early *Abhidhārmika texts* as well as the *Vijñāptimātratā-Siddhi* presents a fine picture of the psychic factors. According to *Vijñānavāda*, these are fifty-one in number. They have been studied under several heads, as[23]:

Sarvatraga	(universal dharmas)	—	5
Viniyata	(particular dharmas)	—	5
Kuśala	(moral states)	—	11
Kleśa	(immoral states)	—	6
Upakleśa	(minor immoral states)	—	24
	Total	—	51

SARVATRAGA : The meaning of the word *sarvatraga* is that which goes everywhere. This may be the literal meaning. In technical sense, this word conveys that which is present with the three manifestations of the consciousness, viz., *ālaya*, *manana* and *pravṛtti*.[24] In early *Abhidhārmika* literature such factors have been studied under the head '*Sabhacittasadharmā Caittasika*'.[25]

They are so named as they are present with all the types of consciousness. Since consciousness here is classified under three heads, it seems correct to say that the *Sarvatraga Caittasikas* refer to such psychic factors or mental states which are invariably available with the three-fold manifestation of the consciousness. According to the *Vijñānavādin* tradition, the *Sarvatraga Caittasika* are five in number. They are :

1. *Sparśa* (contact) : The meaning of the word *sparśa* is contact. Really speaking, it is the contact of the consciousness and the object. In early Buddhist tradition the sense organ, the object and the consciousness are the three units of cognition. According to *Vijñānavāda* Buddhism, the consciousness, the contents to be recognized and the cognition, may be the three units. Thus the contact of the cognising consciousness with the contents to be cognised is called *sparśa*. It is a mere contact, no sensation or perception. Therefore *sparśa* is a psychic factor the function of which is to make a contact of the consciousness and the contents appearing as objects.[26]

2. *Manaskāra* (attention): The literal meaning of the word may be attention or understanding. It has been thoroughly examined in early *Abhidharma* texts. *Milliñdapañha*[27] explains it as catching. Its characteristic is to hold, catch or grasp the object. In this background it is defined as '*ūhanalakkhano manasikāro*',[28] i.e., the *manasikāra* has got the characteristic of catching. An analogy : Farmers engaged in cutting the barley plants do so by catching the plants with left hand and cutting by right hand with sickle. This catching of the plants is the *manaskāra* and the cutting of the plants is *Prajyā*. In this background the difference of the two has been explained. We know that the animals like goat, ram, horse, dog, etc. have *manaskāra* but they have not *Prajyā*.

With the sound of affectionate words they turn towards the speaker and obey him. In the other hand, on finding him in a beating posture they run away. It shows that they have an understanding. They understand the intention of the man. This attention is *manaskāra* and hence *manaskāra* has the characteristics of catching, holding, etc. The animals have not the right understanding to know whether this is moral or immoral and so they do not possess ***Prajyā***. It is in this background that turning towards objects and catching it, the mind is directed towards the object and kept steady. It also functions as setting into motion all other psychic factors on the occasion of appearance of the object in the domain of each.[29]

3. ***Vedanā*** (feeling) : The word ***Vedanā*** means feeling. It is the feeling of an object by consciousness. When an object appears through the range of senses and is received by the mind, there is a contact of the two. Immediately after that there arises a feeling. Feeling means the attitude of mind of accepting the object. If it is interpreted and received aggreeably there arises a pleasant feeling. When it is received disagreeably there arises a unpleasant feeling. If it is received neither agreeably nor disagreeably there arises an indifferent feeling. In this way, feeling is of three types, viz., pleasant feeling (***Sukha Vedanā***); painful feeling (***Dukha Vedanā***; and indifferent feeling (***Adukha Asukha Vedanā***). A pleasant feeling is that, when in possession of an object, a desire arises not to part with it and, when the object is extinct, a desire arises to contact it again. A painful feeling is that when on the appearance of the object there arises a desire to part with it and no desire arises to contact it again when it is extinct. And indifferent feeling is that which arises in connection with an object for which there arises neither a desire to contact it nor to part with it when it is present or extinct.[30]

Further the pleasant feeling is of two types, viz., mental pleasant feeling and physical pleasant feeling. When the feeling is associated with mind alone, it is called '***Saumanasa vedanā***'. When its domain is only in the physical world it is called '***Sukha Vedanā***'. Similarly the painful feeling (***Dukha Vedanā***) also is of two types, viz., mental and physical. The

former is called '*daumanas vedanā*', when its role is concerned only with mind. The latter is the '*dukha-vedanā*' which is limited to body only. Indifferent feeling or *Upekśa Vedanā* has its role again with mind only.

As nature, *Vedanā* is one of the psychic factors which function in the above mentioned five ways on the appearance of the object and being received by the object.[31]

4. *Samjñā* (perception) : *Samjñā* is another psychic factor which means perception. It is another perception of an object by the consciousness through sense organs. Since the external objects are not real they appear in the form of concepts. To the senses such concepts appear as the concept of visible object, the concept of audible object, the concept of odourous object, the concept of sapid object, the concept of tangible object and the concept of ideational object. Since the object has been reduced to six conceptual forms, there are six senses of perception known as *rūpa samjñā* (perception of the concept of visible object); *śabda śamjñā* (perception of the concept of audible object); *gandha samjñā* (perception of the concept of odourou object); *rasa samjñā* (perception of the concept of sapid object); *dṛśtavya samjñā* (perception of the concept of tangible object); and *dharma samjñā* (perception of the concept of ideational object). Again the concept of visible object may also be seen in various forms—the concept of blue, yellow, red, white, black ; circular and rectangular, etc. Similar may be the case with other concepts of objects. However, the concept of man, woman, psychic factors, *nirvāṇa* etc. come under the concept of *dharma*. The *samjñā* only marks such objects as they appear. It is not the marking of their characteristics or nature but marking of the apparent form—yellow, blue, etc. In this way *samjñā* is the name of such a psychic factor which marks the objects as they appear.[32]

5. *Cetanā* (volition) : *Cetanā* means volition. It is an activity of mind through which it is attracted towards the object just as iron is attracted towards the mass of a magnet. Amongst other psychic factors, the function of *cetanā* is that of a master. A good master encourages his servants to do more work by working himself alongwith them. In the same

way is *Cetanā*; while moving towards the object, other psychic factors are also drawn towards the object. In '*Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*,[33] the function of *Cetanā* is made clear by the following illustration : A chief disciple, who sees his master coming from far away, is made to utter the lesson himself and also initiate other disciples to do so. *Cetanā* and psychic factors are compared with the chief disciple and rest of the disciples respectively. *Cetanā* being there, the consciousness is impelled towards the object along with other psychic factors. It functions in the form of giving rise to moral and immoral conduct.[34]

VINIYATA : The word *Viniyata* means that which is of limited sphere. Here, in the technical sense, it refers to such psychic factors which are not invariably present in all the three manifestations of consciousness. These mental states are only present in the third manifestation, that is, *pravṛtti-vijnañā*. According to the *Vijñānavāda* tradition, psychic factors entitled *Viniyata*[35] are five in number. They are :

1. Chanda (desire) : The literal meaning of the word *Chanda* is desire. Here, according to the definition—'*Chando abhiprete vastuni abhilāśā*'[36]—*Chanda* means desire for a particular object which one intends to see, hear, smell, taste or touch. Being a desire for only what is intended, it has a specified object, because there is no desire for other objects which are not intended. This being a desire for a particular object, *Chanda* associates with one of the six *pravṛtti-vijñānas*, i.e., eye consciousness, ear consciousness, etc. It means that when one has a desire to see a thing or hear a thing, smell a thing and the like, it is called *Chanda*. Thus, *Chanda*, under the category of *Viniyata* psychic factors, functions as one of the associates of the *pravṛtti-vijñānas*.[37]

2. *Ādhimokśa* (firm determination) : The word *ādhimokśa* means a firm determination. It may also be rendered as firm belief. In reality, it is the name of a psychic factor which manifests itself as firmness – (*Adhimuncanabhāva*). Whenever a consciousness arises, it arises with a number of psychic factors which are co-existent. Each psychic factor has some definite function to perform. *Ādhimokśa* functions in creating firmness at the mental level. It is due to this that the consciousness

functions firmly. The *Vijñāptimātratā-Siddhi* explains it as a firm belief due to which the consciousness is not swayed away towards heresis.[38]

3. *Smṛti* (awareness) : The word *smṛti* means memory. In its technical sense it is awareness. It is said in this context that it reminds of the experience which one has had earlier and which has not been forgotten. It appears repeatedly about the past experiences. The text defines it as '*Saṁstute vastuni asampramośascetaso abhilāpanatā*'. Here '*Soṁstute vastuni*' means where there is no loss of such impression. '*Abhilāpanatā*' means giving expression. Thus *smṛti* is the remembering of the experiences which one already had and bringing them to the present moment as the object of the consciousness.

Smṛti has been defined in terms of its two characteristics—'*Abhilāpana*' and '*Upagahana*'. '*Abhilāpana*' is creating awareness and reminding of moral states, just like treaurer of a king who reminds him of his valuable possessions. And the characteristic '*Upagahana*' stands for 'to make them obtained'. It means that the moral states should not only be remembered but they should also be acquired and for that it generates effort for the acquirement.[39] It has been illustrated with the simile of a gatekeeper. When a gatekeeper is alert at the gate, other inmates are also alert and thus the undesirable persons have no chances to enter inside the building. Similarly, *smṛti* functions as a gatekeeper at the maingate thus making other associates to be alert as well, so as not to allow immoral states to arise and allow moral states to function[40].

4. *Samādhi* (one pointedness) : The word *Samādhi* means concentration. Here, in the real sense, it means one-pointedness of consciousness on an object. That is why it has been defined as '*Upaparīksye vastuni cittasya ekāgratā*'. The '*Cittasya ekāgratā*' means one-pointedness of consciousness. One-pointedness in what, is a question, for which the answer is given as '*Upaparīksye vastuni*' meaning (one-pointedness) on such an object which has already been investigated. Hence *Śamādhi* is one-pointedness of consciousness on the object already investigated. It functions in the way of making other associated mental factors to concentrate

on the object.[41] It is just like mixing up of soap powder with water.[42] Concentrated mind is stated as '*dipaccidassanena santānthitibhāvam samādhissa dasseti*',[43] i.e., the state of concentrated mind is like the continuous flame of a candle which is placed where is no disturbance of wind. It may also mean that the state of pure mind which functions also in giving rise to right knowledge.

5. *Dhī* (understanding) : *Dhī* is called *Prajyā* also which means understanding. It is discriminating knowledge of an object. An object is investigated either in accordance with *yoga* (reason), *ayoga* (not-reason) or otherwise. *Dhī* is a discriminating understanding of what may be true, untrue or mixed in regard to entities both general and particular.

Yoga which means reason, is of three types, viz., testimony of the authority (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and perception (*āptopadeśa*). The understanding brought about in accordance with these three types of reasons is called *yoga vihita*. The understanding based on testimony of the authority is called '*Śrutamaya*'. What is brough about by way of justification is called *Cintāmaya* and what is perceived through *Samādhi* or concentration is known as *Bhāvanāmaya*.

Ayoga is opposite to *yoga*. It also is of three types. For which there is no testimony of any trustworthy authority is called *anāptopadeśa*. False inference is called *anumānābhāsa* and falsely applied *samādhi* is called '*mithyāpranihita samādhi*.'

Ayoga-vihita means what is caused by these types of *ayoga*. Since the conventional understanding is neither *yoga-vihita* nor *ayoga-vihita*, it means that it is neither absolutely true nor is it entirely false. *Dhī* functions in the form of removing doubts as it is through the proper understanding of all entities that the removal of the doubts is possible.[44]

KUŚALA CAITTASIKA : After giving a brief description of the *Viniyata Caittasika*, it seems desirable to add a brief description on the psychic factors which are moral (*kuśala*). Such psychic factors when find association with consciousness, the consciousness becomes moral. Therefore, with a view to understand the moral consciousness, a study of the

moral psychic factors is essential. According to the tradition of *Vijñānavāda* these are eleven in number[45] :

1. *Śradha* (faith) : It means to have faith in the law of '*karma*', i.e., the moral action yields moral resultant and the immoral action yields immoral resultant. It is also the faith in four noble truths, the triple gem, etc. Thus, its characteristic is to generate faith in the objects worthy to be had so. Its function is to make the mind pure. It washes away the defiling factors just like water purifies gems. With its appearance the hindrances are subsided and the consciousness becomes pure, tranquil. In this sense it is defined as '*sampasādana lakkana śraddhā*'[46].

Making the function of *śradhā* in creating inspiration for higher relisation, it is defined as '*sampakkandana rasa*'. As a man finding others crossing the river gets inspiration to do so, simlarly a man with *śraddhā* endeavours to achieve what is not achieved, to realise what is not realised.[47]

Vasubandhu has illustrated *śraddhā* functioning three ways. Firstly, it functions in the form of faith with reference to the objects having virtue. Secondly, in making the mind pure in driving away various types of defiling factors. It also generates interest in acquisition of the various things. Here, the psychic factor *śraddhā* should be understood as an endeavour bringing faith which purifies the mind.[48]

2. *Hri* (feeling shame) : It is a kind of feeling shame at the moment of doing something immoral. There come some moments in our life when one may have to do something immoral. At that time thinking the greatness of one's own self or that of the human values, one refrains oneself from doing so. That which helps him in doing so is called *hri*. *Vasubandhu* explains that immoral means that what has been condemned by good man or which yields immoral results. Feeling shame with respect of such activities is *hri*. It is to refrain from the physical, vocal and mental misdeeds.[49]

Hri has been compared with a girl of highly honoured family, who does not do anything improper, thinking the greatness of herself as weıl as of her family.[50]

3. *Apatrapā* (feeling shame) : *Apatrapā* means feeling shame with reference to society. There come some moments in our life when we may do some unsocial act. At such a moment there arises some such inspiration that the society will look down upon as when we do some such unsocial deeds. Thus paying respect to the society (others) one refrains oneself from doing something unsocial. It is done so because of the fact that *apatrapā* is at work. The difference between *hrī* and *apatarpā* may be marked as the former has the greatness of one's own self whereas the latter has the greatness of society associated with it. In this way '*apatrapā*' is a moral psychic factor which generates shame at the moment of doing something unsocial and generates the sense of greatness of the society. Because of it one refrains from doing an unsocial act.[51]

4. *Alobha* (sacrifice) : The word *alobha* has two component parts—'*a*' and '*lobha*' or it is a prefixed negative, in the sense *alobha* is an antidote of *lobha*. Due to *alobha*, one keeps oneself away from greed and thus generates the sense of sacrifice of both material and spiritual things. In its real sense, it means to have no attachment for existing world and its objects which are ultimately unreal. One may have a desire to have something but one should not feel attached to that thing, because attachment is greed out of which one is made to go on collecting things without making any use of them. But '*alobha*' means where there is absence of greed, there is no attachment or attraction towards anything[52]. It is just like a lotus[53] in water. A lotus has its existence whithin the water only and while having its existence in the water lotus stands out unattached by the water. In the same way one has one's existence in the world only, and it is through *alobha* when one does not feel attached to it. On the basis of its characteristics *alobha* also makes one to refrain from doing any immoral act.

5. *Adveśa* (absence of hatred) : This word also has two component parts—'*a*' and *dveśa*'. '*A*' is a prefix which means not, absence; '*Dveśa*' is the desire to harm. Thus *adveśa* means the absence of desire to harm. In other words, it is the name of friendliness which is nothing but desire to do benefit to

others. In this way *adveśa* is '*parahitakāmatā*'. Due to the presence of the friendliness, one has the desire for the benefit of all. The tendency to harm others is totally negated.[54]

6. *Amoha* (absence of ignorance : The word '*moha*' means ignorance. '*A*' is a prefix which indicates, the sense of absence. Therefore the absence of *moha* is *amoha*. Absence of *moha* means absense of ignorance. Thus *amoha* means right understanding. It is a psychic factor which removes the covering of ignorance and makes one understand the law of *karma*, the fourfold truths, the triple gems and the three-fold characteristics of the nature of reality. Really speaking, *amoha* stands for proper understanding.[55]

7. *Vīrya* (enthusiasm) : *Vīrya* is a psychic factor which means energy, effort, endeavour etc. It is the antidote of idleness. It generates endeavour for attainment of moral gains. It is a kind of mental support. In our practical life it is seen that sometimes we are under mental depression towards a spiritual achievement. At that time *Vīrya* helps and grants support to the mind.[56] It can be understood easily with the help of a simile. Sometimes the farmer finding the thatch of his house falling, provides support by erecting a pillar of wood. Being supported by that pillar the house does not fall. Similarly, getting support by *Vīrya*, the moral support does not disappear.[57]

8. *Prasrabdhi* (adroitness) : *Prasrabdhi* means adroitness. In a simple way, it may be explained as a skillful activity of mind. This psychic factor is such a skillful activity by virtue of which the immoral states of consciousness stop to arise. The root of immoral states is '*dauśthulya*' which is opposite of *prasrabdhi*. '*Dauśthulya*' means dullness which is the source of the states imbibed with affliction. And the dullness is terminated through *prasrabdhi*, being a skillful activity.

On the basis of mental and physical entities, activity or '*prasrabdhi*' is of two types, namely, *Citta karmanyatā* and *kāya karmanyata*.

Citta karmanyatā means such activity by which there arises proper attention (*samyak manaskāra*), delight (*ahlāda*)

and ease (*lāghava*) in mind as a consequence of which mind flows towards its object. Thus, it is called *Citta karmanyatā*.

Kāya karmanyatā means the application of body to its object with ease. It is a delightful contact of mind with sense organs. That is why it is said that '*prītamanasa kāya prasrabhyat*', meaning that one having delight in mind attains *kāya prasrabdhi*.

The function of ***prasrabdhi*** is to destroy entire *kleśāvarṇa*, i.e., the immoral states, by way of *āsraya-parāvṛtti*. *Āsraya-parāvṛtti* means that the transforming of consciousness is stopped.[57]

9. *Apramāda* (carefulness) : The word *apramāda* is opposite to ***pramāda***. ***Pramāda*** means carelessness and *apramāda* refers to carefulness. It refers to a mental state which generates carefulness for acquisition of other moral states. By virtue of ***apramāda***, one is stopped from proceeding towards immoral entities and is taken towards moral entites. The function of ***apramāda*** is to fulfil the attainment of worldly as well as transcendental virtues.[58]

10. *Upekśā* (equanimity) : *Upekśā* means equanimity or evenness. Here ***upekśā*** means evenness of mind. When there is no disturbance (*Vaiśamya*) in mind it becomes even. *Uddāttatā* means waywardness due to which mind gets disturbed. Simply, it means when mind is deluded with objects, it becomes disturbed. Because of this disturbance there is no mental balance. But when mind does not indulge with objects, mind becomes calm and even. Thus, it is called *upekśā*. There are three names of the three stages of *upekśā*. They refer to the beginning, middle and end of its functions. When mind functions without distraction, the stage is known as *Citta-samatā*. There comes a moment when the mind is so trained that without suggestions or efforts it continues working in gaining concentration. This is called *Citta-praśathatā*. Further, when the one—pointedness becomes very strong and doubts, distractions etc. also stop their function, mind does not roam with them; it does not take delight in other objects. In such a state, the mind is called *Citta-anābhogatā*.[59]

11. *Avihiṃsā* (harlmessness) : *Avihiṃsā* is opposite to *vihiṃsā*. *Vihimsā* means 'to harm other living beings by way of

killing, tying, etc.' *Avihiṃsā* is such a moral state through which one does not harm human beings, because it is '*karuṇā*'. *Karuṇā* means feeling compassion for all those in distress. *Karuṇā* has two parts—'*kaṁ*' and '*runaddhi*'. '*Kaṁ*' means happiness and '*runaddhi*' means 'takes away'. It means becoming one with the suffering of others. It is seen that a compassionate being becomes one with a person having any kind of suffering. In this way *upekśā* makes one to do no harm to anyone.[60]

KLEŚA CAITTASIKA : It is but natural that after a brief description of the moral psychic factors, description of the immoral psychic factors known as *kleśa* be presented. The meaning of the word '*kleśa*' is defiling factors or polluting factors. That which makes the mind polluted is known as *kleśa*. It is a general statement that mind is pure and luminous in its nature, but it gets polluted because of the various polluting factors (*kleśa*). The *kleśa* in the *Vijñānavāda* have been described as six in number.[61] It is maintained that due to the association of these factors the mind becomes immoral[62] Understanding both the moral and immoral factors may help one in keeping oneself away from the immoral ones and make proper acquisition of the moral ones. With this view, a brief description of the immoral factors follows :

1. *Rāga* (attachment) : The meaning of the word *rāga* is attachment, desire, taking delight or clinging. It is a desire for enjoying the pleasure by the senses connected with their respective objects. In Buddhist tradition, all the various types of objects have been reduced to six : the visible object; the audible object; the odorous object; the sapid object; the tangible object; and the ideational object. Eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind are the six senses. Each sense likes to have the pleasure of the senses connected with its objects. Due to that, the mind becomes defiled. We develop attachment with such objects due to *rāga*. Therefore, *rāga* is the source of developing attachment. It is due to this that there is a clinging for phenomenal existence and hankering after he pleasures of the worldly things. The more it increases

the more is the increase of suffering and therefore *rāga* is regarded as the root-cause of suffering.[63]

2. *Pratigha* (animosity) : *Pratigha* means animosity towards living beings. It can also be termed as bitterness towards others. The thoughts like killing, tying, etc. arise because of the association of *pratigha* with consciousness. It may be called a furious state of consciousness, as it is in consequence of unfavourable contact with an object that the consciousness becomes furious. In this state of consciousness one thinks of killing other human beings and such other evil deeds. The mind undergoes ill-will and performs evil deeds. In this background, the function of *pratigha* is defined as '*asaparśavihāra duścaritasannisrayādānakarmakā*', which means that *pratigha* gives rise to '*asparśavihāra*' and '*duscarita*.' '*Asparśavihāra*' means antipathy as a contrary to *sparśa* which means pleasure. *Duscaritasnnisraya* means the performance of evil deeds. A person whose mind is associated with animosity or *pratigha* invariably reveals his evil mindedness. As such the mind undergoes ill-will. This ill-will is followed by the body also. Thus in all states of being, one is with ill-will bitterness and non-association of pleasure. As such a person can undergo any evil deed he may think of.[64]

3. *Moha* (ignorance) : The meaning of *moha* is ignorance. Ignorance means the lack of right understanding (*avidyā lakśano moha*[65]). It is a covering on right knowledge. It is because of this covering that one is unable to understand the nature of reality. Under the blinding influence of *moha*, one does not understand the moral route, immoral route; moral action, immoral action; the four noble truths; the law of *karma* and also *nirvāṇa* as the ultimate goal. It functions in a way to put a covering on such things and makes the consciousness blind. This covering further gives rise to threefold passions (*sankleśa*)—*kleśa*, the bad mental states; further accumulation of *karma*; and in consequence of *karma* the continuous cycle of birth.[66]

4. *Māna* (conceit) : *Māna* means conceit. It is a psychic factor which gives rise to false construction of the self. It is in one way characterised as elation of mind. Through this elation the concepts of 'I' and 'mine' are imposed on the five

skandhas[67]. Further one thinks of onself as superior to others. It gives rise to inglorification and pain. Inglorification means, due to *māna* one cannot be humble in words or deeds towards the respectable and virtuous persons, thus causing inglorification. Pain means the process of the limited states of being. In the later *Abhidharma* text[68] reference has been made to three varieties of *māna* on the basis of three types of beings known as superior, equal and inferior. But the *Vijñānavāda* tradition refers to seven varieties of *māna* on the basis of its different causes or nature of the different types of beings. The seven varieties are as under :

(i) *Māna* : *Māna* means feeling prode wrongly. One starts thinking as 'I am superior by virtue of lineage, knowledge and wealth to one who is inferior to me in relation to lineage, knowledge and wealth' or one thinks as 'I am equal by virtue of lineage, knowledge and wealth to one who is equal to me in this relation.

(ii) *Atimāna* : *Atimāna* is that which surpasses *māna*, as one may think 'I am superior by virtue of sacrifice, morality and manliness to one who is equal to me in relation to lineage, knowledge and wealth'. Again, because of *atimāna* one thinks as 'I am equal by virtue of lineage, knowledge and wealth to one who is superior in relation to lineage, knowledge and wealth.

(iii) *Mānātimāna* : To think 'I am superior by virtue of lineage, knowledge, wealth etc. to one who is superior in such relations' is called *mānātimāna*.

(iv) *Asmimāna* : The imposition of the false notion of ego upon the five constituents of an individual is called *asmimāna*. Because of *asmimāna* one thinks of 'this is I' or 'this is mine', etc.

(v) *Abhimāna* : It means when one thinks as 'I have achieved it' in relation to a special achievement which is not actually achieved.

(vi) *Unamāna* : It is when one thinks in relation to one who is much superior as 'I am slightly inferior to him by virtue of lineage, knowledge and wealth'.

(vii) *Mithyamāna* : When one thinks 'I am virtuous' without having any virtue is called *mithyāmāna*.[69]

5. *Dṛk* (false view) : The literal meaning of the word *dṛk* is a view. Apparently it may be right view or wrong view. But here, in the context of immoral psychic factors, it is indicative of the false view. Under the influence of this psychic factor the real nature of self as well as the world is not understood. One understands them as eternal. All the wrong notions about soul and the world arise due to this *dṛk* or the false view. It mars the real understanding and develops wrong notions. Therefore, it is stated as '*mithyādṛṣṭi*, The views like eternalism, nihilism etc. arise due to it. According to *Vijñānavāda*[70] tradition, there are five varieties of the dṛk, as under :

(i) *Satkāyadṛṣṭi* : It means belief in the existence of a permanent soul. A man develops the wrong notion of the permanent self and identifies himself with it due to this view. It gives rise to 'I' and 'mine' as permanent entities.

(ii) *Antargāha dṛṣṭi* : It is a false view regarding the five aggregates.[71] Due to it one thinks about the existence of a permanent soul in them. He takes them as eternal and subject to annihilation. The view like 'I' and 'mine' develop due to it.

(iii) *Mithyādṛṣṭi* : It is the false view by which one cannot understand the cause and effect theory with the law of *Karmaphala*. Because of *mithyadṛṣṭi* one denies the real existence of pure consciousness.

(iv) *Dṛṣṭiparāmarśah* : It is a false view in regard to five *skandhas* thinking them ultimate, unique, most prominent and the excellent truth.

(v) *Śilāvṛata-parāmarśah* : It is a false view with regard to five *skandhas* thinking them as pure and helpful in giving us freedom.

6. *Vicikṛtsā* (wrong interpretation) : *Vicikitsā* means doubt. It is doubt about the law of *karmaphala*, the four noble truths and the triple gems. It has the characteristic of doubt about the realities, because of which one cannot reach any final decision. It creates dilemma, doubt, etc. about the nature of reality.[72]

UPAKLEŚA CAITTASIKA : The literal meaning of the word *upakleśa* is minor *kleśas*. It means such defiling factors

which are the associates of the *kleśas*. They also function to pollute the consciousness. They are of the same category as that of the *kleśa*, but, because of their function they are called *upakleśas*. However, they belong to the same class. According to the *Vijñānavāda* tradition,[73] they are twenty-four in number. They are also required to be thoroughly understood for advancing in the direction of purification of mind, because without knowing the immoral ones it becomes difficult to know moral ones. A brief description of them is presented here-under :

1. *Krodha* (anger) : *Krodha* means anger. It is a state of consciousness presently injured by the unfavourable contact. Being a state of mental violence, *krodha* is a type of *kleśa* called *pratigha*. It also gives rise to the feeling of enmity towards other animate and inanimate beings. It functions as giving rise to the act of inflicting punishment, etc.[74]

2. *Upanāha* (continuity of feeling enmity) : Continuity of feeling enmity means *Upanāha*. It arises after *krodha* and gives rise to the thinking like 'he has given me punishment' or 'he has harmed me' and thinking so makes the enmity continued.[75]

3. *Mrakṣa* (hypocrisy or to hide one's faults) : *Mrakṣa* is an *upakleśa* which helps in concealing the sinful activities done by one. It is said when a well wisher, finding one commit sinful acts, takes him away from the state of fear and asks about his misdeeds, he hides them. The act of such concealing of sinful activities is known as *mrakṣa*. It is an aspect of *Moha*.[76]

4. *Pradāśa* (wounding by harsh word) : *Pradāśa* means injuring by harsh words. It refers to extremely harsh word or words which injure one. Harming others by using such harsh words is *prādāśa*. It is an aspect of *Pratigha*.[77]

5. *Irṣyā* (feeling jealous) : It is an act of feeling jealous of other's prosperity or higher spiritual achievement. It is seen that a man desirous of getting benefit, honour, high position, wisdom, etc. when finds others superior to him, develops a burning in himself. It is called jealousy or *Irśyā*. It creates heart-burning for any type of prosperity of others.[78]

6. *Mātsarya* (envy) : *Mātsarya* is the act of envy which means the attachment for that which one possesses and the desire not to part with it. It functions in the form of providing necessary basis for '*asaṁlekha*'. It means undue accumulation of such things which do not come under perview because of *mātsarya*.[79]

7. *Māyā* (cheating others by false activities) : It is an act of deceiving others by way of showing a thing which actually does not exist. It is also marked in connection with preaching the moral precepts with a malicious intention to deceive others.

Māyā is a combined manifestation of attachment and ignorance. It is only a concept and not existing something real. It provides grounds for the livelihood.[80]

8. *Śāthya* (trickiness) : It is an act of crookedness of making an attempt to hide one's faults by some wrong means. It differs from *mṛakṣa* on account of concealing things clearly, whereas *mṛakṣa* makes one hide things skillfully. It functions in the form of distracting the attention of mind to attain right knowledge. It has also been stated that it appears due to the excess of attachment and ignorance and in their background one tries to conceal one's evil deeds for material gain, etc. It contradicts the right understanding and puts obstacles for right thinking too.[81]

9. *Mada* (arrogance) : *Mada* has been defined as excess of joy of a man who has got immense attachment for his own achievements or belongings. Birth in a good family; having good health; possessing youthfulness, power, beauty, intelligence etc. are regarded as one's belongings. Taking immense delight and becoming slave of these things is called *mada*. One gets delight in them because the consciousness is overpowered by them. It gives rise to defiling factors as well as their associates known as *upakleśas*.[82]

10. *Vihiṁsā* (injury) : It is an act of causing harm to all living beings by way of killing, tying, beating, frightening, etc. Since it generates mental and physical pain to others, *Vihiṁsā* is called as an act of harming others.[83]

11. *Āhrikya* (shamelessness) : It is an act of feeling shamelessness connected with one's ownself. Though a man

understands the misdeeds but he does not hesitate in indulging in them. He does not feel ashamed of doing wrong. It is just an opposite *dharma* to *hṛī*. *Hṛī* is feeling shame at the moment of doing someting ignoble. It generates the sense of the greatness of one's own self in spite of the fact that he is a man — a rational being and it is not proper for him to do anything immoral. But *āhrīyam* mars all such thinking and it does not generate a sense of greatness of one's own self or feeling shame at the moment of doing something wrong.[84]

12. *Anaptrāpyā* (shamelessness) : It is a state of consciousness where there is a lack of feeling indignant at the sinful act committed by oneself even knowing that the act is against public opinion and moral consciousness. In the religious scripture as well as the tradition prescribed moral norms, he transgresses them and even after doing so does not feel ashamed of it. The greatness of the society or the honour of the people does not harbour immaculately in his mind.[85]

13. *Styāna* (idleness) : *Styāna* is the dullness of mind. Because of it mind is not active towards its object. It also is an aspect of *moha* functioning in the form of providing assistance to all *kleśas* and *upakleśas*.[86]

14. *Auddhātya* (bewilderness of consciousness) : *Auddhātya* means distraction. It is the act of not having attention of mind on a particular object where it should be. It is opposite to calm. It is due to this factor that mind roams and takes delight in undesirable objects.[87]

15. *Āśraddya* (faithlessness) : *Āśraddya* is the absence of belief in the four noble truths, triple gems and the law of *karma*. There is a good result of moral deeds and a bad result of immoral deeds. When there is moral order, it is known as *śraddha*. Having no faith in such tradition is faithlessness. It does not generate interest for moral achievement and spiritual gain.[88]

16. *Kauṣīdya* (indolence) : It is a lack of interest in the moral deeds and is opposite of *Virya*. It is the act of taking pleasure in sleep, idleness at the moment of doing moral deed and taking interest therein.[89]

17. *Pramāda* (carelessness) : It is a state where there is absence of protecting the mind from the *kleśas* such as *rāga*,

dveśa, moha and *kauṣidya* and there is a lack of concentration on their opposites. It functions in the form of developing *akuśala dharmas* and elminating *kuśala dharmas*.[90]

18. *Muṣita* (unawareness) : It is defined as unawareness associated with polluted factor. Awareness is *smṛti*. *Muṣita* contradicts it and helps the immoral states to harbour in the mind.[91]

19. *Vikśepa* (roaming about of the mind): It is roaming about of the mind imbued with *rāga, dveśa* and *moha* on various types of objects. *Vikśepa* means throwing. Since the mind is forcibly thrown on undesirable objects due to the excess of attachment, antipathy, and ignorance; this state of mind is called *Vikśepa*. It hinders the mind and does not permit it to develop concentration.[92]

20. *Asamprajñya* (defiled understanding) : Understand-ing associated with defiling objects is called *asamprajñya*. It mars the discrimination of the right and wrong and leads consciousness to develop activities generated by such under-standing which is associated with defiling factors.[93]

21. *Kaukṛitya* (repentance)': *Kaukṛitya* means repentance or brooding over. An immoral action is called *kaukṛiya*. The wrong notion of the consciousness of being attached towards such deeds is *kaukṛitya*.[94]

22. *Middha* (absent mindedness) : It is a state of absent mindedness where there is a lack of the maintenance of physical and mental balance. It deadens all organs of senses. It is an aspect of *moha* functioning in the form of obstruction or what ought to be done.[95]

23. *Vitarka* (discussion) : It is the name of a mental act of investigation. This may be the quality of understand-ing and volition. It is due to this that the mind develops the quality of determining what to do and what not to do. As an immoral factor, it takes the mind towards gross things.[96]

24. *Vicāra* (judgement) : It is also an act of mind; of determination. It differs from *Vitarka* in the sense that it attempts to fix the object as : 'it is such' and 'it is not like this'. While *Vitarka* is like 'what is this ?'. Such minute analysis is done by *Vicāra*. As such *Vicāra* and *Vitarka* differ by virtue of their being designated as 'gross' and 'subtle'

respectively. Both serve as a base for moral as well as immoral deeds.[97]

A brief description of the consciousness with its three-fold manifestation together with the fifty-one types of psychic factors has been presented above. While presenting such description it has been exhibited that consciousness alone is real. The objects appearing in different forms externally are unreal, they are there manifestations of consciousness. This is the position of *Vijñānavāda* Buddhism.

When this is the reality then there arises a question as to how the external world is explained. In day-to-day life we experience the existence of external things; we take food; drink water; wear clothes; see visible objects; hear audible sound and so on. These are experienced as themes existing externally. To defend, the *Vijñānavāda* only maintains *Vijñāna* as real and other things as unreal. As to how does it explain them in this background, it seems desirable to raise the four traditional questions and make an effort to answer them.[98]

The first question is about the law of place for existing objects. It is usually noted that a particular object exists only at a particular place. For example, the sun shines only in the sky, but not everywhere and the trees stand only on the ground, nowhere else. So is the case with all existing objects of the world. Had it been untrue they ought to have been existing everywhere without any binding of place. Then how can this be explained in the background of one reality as *Vijñāna*.

The second question arises about the law of time connected with the existence of objects. It is experienced that different objects appear in particular time. For instance, we see the moon shining only in night, the stars are also similarly seen shining during the night. Thus with this it appears that they are real. Had they been unreal things they could have been seen at any time.

The third question is related with the understanding of objects in the same way by all. A pot is understood as pot by all. When a man finds himself thirsty he takes water and thereby quenches his thirst and as such water is understood

water by all. Similar may be the case with other objects. Had they been unreal they could have been understood by different persons in different ways, as the hanging of the bunches of hair is noted only by persons who have got diseased eye. The existence of twin moon is also noted by a similar person. But they are not understood by all. Since the understanding of external objects is similar among all, the objects therefore, appear to be real. It they are otherwise how can they be explained !

The fourth question arises about the function of worldly objects. If they are unreal there should not have been any function of these objects, as unreal things have no function. For instance, it is seen that in a dream food cannot remove any-body's hunger; water cannot satisfy one's thirst and poison cannot make one die. But what happens with objects of worldiy existence, is quite the reverse. Here, after eating food, one does not feel hungery; after drinking water there is no thirst for it; and if one takes poison death at once over-powers and so on. These are the realities appearing in daily practice which cannot be denied. Then how is the world explained as unreal when its objects have their function and are understood in our practical life.

These are the questions which generally agitate the mind of the inquistive person who likes to explain things which are before him. Similarly it may also be said that such are the charges which are levelled by other thinkars against *Vijñānavādins*.

Now let us examine as to how the *Vijñānavādins* come forward to answer these questions. A close study of the *Vijñāptimātratā-Siddhi* reveals that these questions have been answered thoroughly in the text.[99] How ? As regards the first question it has been said that the existence of objects in particular places is possible even without the existence of objects as well as places. This can very easily be understood with our dream experience. In a dream when one sees the moon and the sun, he sees them in the sky; when he sees trees, he finds them only on earth. It is a fact that the sun and the moon in dream, as seen in the sky, are not real; the trees

and the earth are also not real but their understanding is possible even without their existence in a particular place.[100]

As regard the second question of the existence of objects in particular time it is said that the objects can also be seen with reference to time without their real existence. This can also be substantiated on the basis of the dream experience. It is seen that a man wandering in the dream-land also sees the moon in the night and the sun in the day. The stars are seen shining in the night. Whenever we see the returning of cows from the pasture-land we know it is dusk. Actually speaking, neither is there a sun nor moon, nor stars, nor the cows in the dream but their existence is explained with reference to a full balance of time. This goes to prove that the experience of the external objects is possible even without their actual existence.[101]

Turning towards the solution of the third question of not experiencing the same types of things by different people, it may be said that it is based on the law of *karma*. The Buddhist philosophy has accepted the law of *karma* and also the same has been accepted by the critics. According to Buddhist tradition, it iss aid that each action, when it is done, leaves its impression on the mind which is technically called *Vipāka*. A moral action leads to a moral resultant. Similarly, the immoral action leads to immoral resultant. It is further said that due to the resultants of moral actions one is born in divine kingdoms whereas the resultants of immoral ones lead one to hell. Thus the force of moral action is responsible for being in heaven as well as the force of immoral ones in the hell. In this background when a man, after doing moral actions, goes to heaven, he has the perception of divine mansions, beautiful gardens and the deities having effulgence of beauty. Similarly a man who goes to hell due to the force of immoral deeds has the perception of a river full of pus. The hellish guards having staves and swords in their hands with fearful appearances is noted by him.[102]

Now it is a fact that variations in perception with different types of persons is due to variation of *Karma* and not due to different types of objects. The perceptions are mere ideations. There is no corresponding object like that. Thus

the *Vijñānavādins* come forward with the answer that variations in experiences distinguish people in relation to different types of objects.

The *Vijñānavādins* while answering the fourth question come up with the argument that activities are also possible without the existence of objects. This can also be substantiated on the basis of dream experience. It is stressed that the various types of activities are experienced in the dream even without the existence of external objects. The beings, due to the force of the immoral activities, see the rivers full of pus and the fearful guards throwing the weeds therein. One is extremely terrified to see it. It is also a practical experience that the men become terrified due to the ideational visions of ghosts and spirits. Here, actually speaking, there is neither river full of pus nor the guards having fearful experiences. The activities like those of becoming terrified are seen. The ghosts and spirits are unreal. Still the torture of them is experienced.[103]

For argument's sake we may accept that the hellish guards are real, not fictitious. But it is not correct. There is difference between the hellish guards and living creatures. Had they been similar then there would have been the experience of torture by all. But it is maintained that only the hellish creatures experience the torture and not the guards. This goes to prove the thesis that hellish guards etc. also are not real. The fear is due to this consciousness[104]. Thus the four objections on the doctrine of only consciousness as real and maintained by *Vijñānavādins* are baseless. Actually speaking they can easily be explained on the basis of four-fold answers given by the *Vijñānavādins*.

Again, the critics raise the objection on the analogy of dream.[105] They say that the *Vijñānavādins* take the help of dreams again and again to emphasise the unreal nature of external objects. Everywhere they bring in dreams to illustrate that as all the activities are performed in dream without the existence of external objects. they can also be understood in the wakeful state. Consciousness, whether in the state of a dream or in the state of awakening, functions in the same way. This is the general attitude of the *Vijñānavādins* in

explaining the external world. But this does not appear absolutely correct. If the activities of dream and wakeful stages are similar, then their fruits also should be similar. A devotee offers alms and thereby earns merits. The other who receives it is also helped thereby. Such activities are also marked in the dream. The act of giving alms are performed in dream also, but neither the giver earns merits nor the receiver is helped thereby. Therefore proving the external objects as unreal on the basis of the analogy of dream is not correct.

Further it may also be said that when a man is bitten by a snake in wakeful stage he experiences bitter pain and consequently may even die. If he has also experienced snake bite in the dream, there is no consequent death. Again, it is said, that a man sees something in the dream, he is either terrified or overjoyed by them. But, when he gets up he is neither terrified nor overjoyed. He understands that the experiences of the dream are unreal. Had they been the same in both the states (awakening and dream) then why do people not accept the experience of the wakeful state as false.

Though these are problems which create a stir in the mind, the *Vijñānavādins* come up with some arguments as regards with these questions. They believe that the fruits of actions performed in dream and in wakeful state cannot be the same. Consciousness is associated with slothness (midha) in dream whereas free from it in wakeful state.[106] It is due to this reason that results of actions done in dreamful and wakeful states are not the same.

Again, it is said, that the objects of both the states are equally unreal. A dreamer understands the external objects as real so long as he is in the state of dreaming. As soon as he gets up, he understands them as being unreal. The man in wakeful state too takes the objects as real so long as he is overpowered by the sleepyness due to the impressions of the activities done by him. When all these accumulated effects are removed he has a clear understanding of the unreality of the external world. How is it possible ? It is possible due to the appearance of the supramundane understanding which is free from imaginary flights and accumulated effects of the impres-

sions. When such right understanding dawns upon him, the reality becomes crystal clear. He properly understands that the external world is unreal and that which is real is the consciousness alone.[107] Thus the objections raised by the critics on the *Vijñānavādins* are removed by them in the manner delineated above.

Nirvāna : There is a tradition among various systems of the Indian Philosophy according to which all systems have almost the same aim, that of leading beings from the state of suffering to the state of eternal bliss. If we visualize the progress of various systems of Indian Philosophy, it appears as a straight line having two points. One in the bejinning and the other in the end. The point in the beginning is the '*dukha*' or *saṃsāra*. It is also called bondage on worldly ties. The point in the end is the *nirvāṇa* which is also called *Mokṣa*, *Niśreyasa*, *Amṛtapada*, etc. The systems of Indian Philosophy, except *Chārvāka* or few others, start with the first point (suffering), continue with noble way-faring and culminate in realisation of a state of eternal bliss, *nirvāṇa*. The way faring may be different in different systems but the starting point and the point of culmination are the same. This is the special feature of the systems of Indian Philosophy which do not prescribe only ideas at intellectual level but in true sense precribe a perfect way of life whereby the eternal bliss may be acquired.

The Buddhist Philosophy, like other systems of Indian Philosophy, proceeds with the same aim of leading beings from a state of suffering to a state of eternal bliss. This has been maintained in all the traditions of Buddhist Philosophy. *Nirvāṇa* has been described as the highest goal. It culminates in realisation of this goal whereby one achieves freedom from the external existence for ever. Against this background the prebelm of the realisation of *nirvāṇa* in *Vijñānavāda* deserves consideration. Here also *nirvāña* is the highest goal of life. The entire Buddhist *Sādhanā* culminates in realisation of *nirvāṇa*. How this is explained in the back-ground of consciousness as one reality ?

According to *Vijñānavādin* tradition there is only one reality and that is consciousness. While explaining conscious-

ness, it is said that *ālaya-vijñāna* is the store-house or the base of consciousness. While throwing light on different aspects of *ālaya-vijñāna* it is said that it is because of it that there is a continuity of *saṃsāra* and attainment of *nirvāṇa*.[108]

There is neither a continuity of *saṃsāra* nor attainment of *nirvāṇa* where there is no existence of *ālaya-vijñāna*. It may be explained in another way. That which we call as *saṃsāra*, or repeated existence, is the continuity of *ālaya-vijñāna* from one existence to another. *Nirvāṇa* is *nivṛtti* which means purification or removal of the defiling factors from it. The *ālaya-vijñāna* is connected with both *saṃsāra* as well as *nirvāṇa*.

What is *saṃsāra* ? '*Sansarati iti saṃsāra*'—going from one state of existence to another without any interruption is *saṃsāra*.[109] It is the continuity of consciousness or '***conscious cntinuam***.' It has already been said that consciousness goes on flowing just like a river.[110] Buddhist tradition maintains that consciousness is the action. A consciousness arises, falls again; arises and falls and goes on maintaining its continuity. Each time of its arising it leaves its impressions on mind and the phenomenon is called *Vipāka*. Such *Vipāka* go on continuously with consciousness every-moment and taking the load of such impressions consciousness goes on flowing. It has been said that as the flow of river goes on taking with it the load of pieces of grass, dung and other such particles, the *ālaya-vijñāna* in the same way goes on flowing as a stream of consciousness from one state of existence to another taking with it the load of accumulations of impressions of moral and immoral actions. So long as there is flowing of *ālaya-vijñāna* there is *saṃsāra* or the repeated existence. In other words, as long as there is *Saṃsāra* there is the continuity of *ālaya-vijñāna*.[111] This much is said about the *Saṃsāra*.

Then, where is the end of *saṃsāra* ? In answer to this question it is said that where there is *nivṛtti* of *ālaya-vijñāna*[112] there is the end of ***saṃṣāra***. ***Nivṛtti*** has been explained as *sopādhiśeśa* and '***nirupādhiśesa***'.[113] How is it possible ? It is possible in the state of '*arhat*-hood.[114] There is the *vyāvṛtti* of *ālaya-vijñāna* in the state of *arhat*-hood. What is this *arhat*-hood ? It is a state where the previous accumulations come

to an end and there is no possibility of further accumulation. All the impressions coming from so many previous existences are completely destroyed and *ālaya-vijñāna* becomes pure.[115] It remains no more *ālaya-vijñāna* but is *Vimala-vijñāna* (pure consciousness). It means that consciousness with its accumulations of impressions of previous actions is called *ālaya-vijñāna* and the consciousness free from all such accumulations is called *Vimala-vijñāna*.

The clux of the problem lies in the concept '*vyāvṛtti*.' There are three words *nivṛtti*, *vyāvṛtti* and *parāvṛtti*, which go to indicate the state of *arhat-hood*. Basically they mean the same thing, the difference lies only in their structures. Here, *vyāvṛtti* means to be changed and manifested. *Ālaya-vijñāna* is associated with impressions of moral and immoral actions as well as of *grāhadvayavāsanā*[116] together withother defiling factors. When all such defiling factors are totally destroyed and consciousness manifests itself completely free from all polluting factors, it is the state of *nivṛtti*, *parāvṛtti* or *vyāvṛtti*.

To explain the state of *arhat*-hood : it is achieved by '*kṣayajñāna*' and '*anotpattijñāa*'.[117] This is the state of right understanding, when it is perfectly understood that the previous accumulations have totally been destroyed and there is no possibility of their arising again. There is then neither *ālaya-vijñāna* nor *mano-vijñāna* nor *pravṛtti-vijñāna*. Consciousness becomes free from all the polluting factors. As a piece of dirty cloth, when becomes free from dirt, manifests itself as the very clean cloth or as a lump of gold, when becomes free from dirt, manifests itself as a pure-gold, consciousness in the same way becomes free from all polluting factors, manifests itself in its natural, luminous and immensely pure-state.[118] This state of immense purity of consciousness is called *nirvāṇa*. The expressions like '*tathatā*, '*śūnyatā*, *dharma-dhātu*, *dharmakāya*, etc. are its synonyms. *Nirvāṇa* has two types,[119] viz. '*Sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* and '*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*'. '*Upadhi*' means five aggregates. 'śeṣ' means remainning. When the five aggregates remain in their pure form and the man realises *nirvāṇa*., it is called '*sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*.' It is a state of *nirvāṇa* realised in this very life. The second one is achieved after the expiry of this life. To explain it,

we may add that when the defiling factors, sub-defiling factors are totally destroyed and there is no function of further pollution of the oonsciousness, it becomes immensely pure. Further, when the seeds are destroyed there is no possibility of coming up of the sprout. Similarly, when these polluting factors are destroyed from their root there is no chance of their arising again. Thus there are two things, viz. destruction of the previous accumulations, defiling factors, etc. and no possibility of their arising again. This state is called '*sopadhiśeśanirvāṇa*.' It is achieved in this very life.

When the life generated by the previous forces also comes to an end and there is no possibility of its rejoining another life it is called '*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*.' The cycle of repeated existence is put to a stop for ever. The two-way functioning of consciousness, as the receiver and the received, also comes to an end. All the various types of speculations cease to arise. The internal and external worlds become crystal clear. In the domain of such understanding one understands first the unreality of the external world and then that of the internal one. There is neither the real existence of the object as a thing to be received nor is there the real existence of the subject as the receiver[120]. This is the supramundane knowledge from the speculative discrimination of the receiver and the received. When there is a dawn of such supramundane knowledge, consciousness establishes itself within consciousness (*svacitta dharmatā*)[121] free from any discursive thought. The two coverings, known as *kleśāvarṇa* and *geyāvarṇa*,[122] are destroyed and with their destruction there is the '*āśrayaparāvṛtti*'[123] of the *ālaya-vijñāna*. Then immediately after that it does not remain as *ālaya-vijñāna* but becomes the *Vimala-vijñāna*. This is technically called '*dharmakāya*'. *Vasubandhu* has tried to focus on this *dharmakāya* by adding seven adjectives, viz. *anāsrava-dhātu*, *acintya*, *kuśala*, *dhruva*, *sukha-svarūpa*, *vimuktikāya* and *dharmakāyā*.[124]

It is called '*anāsrava dhātu*' because it is free from '*āsrava*.' What is *āsrava*? The '*kleśāvarṇa*' and '*geyāvarṇa*' are together known as '*āsrava*.' After their total destruction, removal from the consciousness there is its menifestation in

pure form. For this reason it is called '*anāsrava-dhātu.*' Further it is called *acintyā*-unspeakable. It is called so because it is beyond the verbal approach. It is realisable by a man with pure-consciousness. It is pairless and thought of or spoken of but only realised.[126] It cannot be '*kuśala*, because it has as its object the immensely pure, which is nothing but *nirvāṇa* itself. It is for the well-being of all, having not even a tinge of pollution in it. Because of its immensely purest nature it has been attributed with the word '*kuśala*'.[127] It is '*dhruva*' because it remains for ever in respective of three-fold dimensions of time. It is never destroyed.[128] It is a state of eternal bliss. The happiness never decreases in it ; it remains for ever in the same form. Since the state of eternal bliss remains in the same way for ever, it is called '*nitya*'[129] sukha-svarupa.

It has been further explained with the help of the attribute—'*Vimuktikāya.*' In order to understand the concept of '*Vimuktikāya*' we may add that the '*āśrayaparāvṛtti*' is of two types, viz. '*Sottarā*, and '*niruttarā.*' *Sottarā*' refers to a state of freedom where there is something more to be achieved. '*Niruttarā*' is indicative of a state where nothing remains to be achieved. In '*Sottarā,*' '*kleśāvaraṇa*' is destroyed. In '*niruttarā*' both the '*kleśāvaraṇa*' and '*geyāvarāṇa*' are destroyed. In the state of '*sottarā āśrayaparāvṛtti*, the cycle of repeated existence is broken. The state of omniscence is not achieved. This state of freedom has been described with the help of attribute—'*Vimuktikāya*'.[130]

The other attribute, *dharmakāya*, is indicative of the '*niruttarā āśrayaparāvṛtti*'.[131] This is total destruction of the seed of two coverings of the *bodhisattva*.[132] When the '*kleśāvarāṇa*' and '*geyāvaraṇa*' of the *bodhisattva* are destroyed from their seed, it is called the state of '*dharmakāya*'.[133] This is the highest state. Nothing remains unachievable after this. This is the state of '*dharmakāya*'—omniscient *dharmakāya*. There is no defiling factors in it. It is present everywhere. It achieves the state of omniscience ; therefore it is called '*dharmakāya.*' It does not refer to any material body but it is the name of *Vimala-vijñāna* an immensely pure consciousness free from all pollution and prevailing everywhere for all

time. It is also named '*tathatā*', '*śūnyatā*.' '*dharmatā*,' '*Buddhattva*' etc. The *bodhisattva*, after attaining the state of '*anupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*' becomes one with it. This is the final liberation, technically called '*Parinirvāṇa*.' It is a fact that we add several adjectives to explain it but it is, above all verbal expressions. It is a state where all mundane approaches come to rest. It is a state which is achieved but cannot be expressed.

1. *Samyuttanikāya*, I, 159.
2. *Mjjhimanikāya*, I, 3.
3. *Supra*, pp. 59-62.
4. *Samyuttanikāya*, IV, 15.
5. *VMS*, ed. tr. by Tiwary, Mahesh, the Chawkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 1967.
6. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
7. Naudou, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
11. "चित्तं मनो विय्यानं अथतो एकं व्यञ्जनतो नाना ।"
12. *VK*, v. 1 :

    "विज्ञप्तिमात्रमेवेदमसदर्थावभासनात् ।

    यद्वत् तैमिरिकस्यासत् केशोण्ड्रकादि दर्शनम् ॥"
13. *TK*, see. vv. 1, 2 :

    "विज्ञान परिणामेऽसौ परिणाम: स च त्रिधा ॥"

    "विपाको मननाख्यश्च विज्ञप्तिर्विषयस्य च ॥"

14. "अनादिकालिको धातुनः सर्वधर्मसमाश्रयः ।
तस्मिम् सति गतिः सर्वा निर्वाणाधिगमोऽपि वा ।।"

(Quoted by Sttiramati in thc commentary of *TK*)

15. *TK*, v. 2 :

"तत्रालयाख्यं विज्ञानं विपाकः सर्वबीजकम् ।।"

16. *VMS*, p. 36.

17. *Cakṣu*, *Srotra*, *Ghrāṇa*, *Jihvā*, *Kāya* and *Manas* are the six *Vijñana* known to *Sarvāstivādin* school, *Vijñānayādins* having added two more *manovijñāna* the seventh and *ālayavijñāna* the eighth. The difference between sixth and seventh *vijñāna* is that the former is normal consciousness i.e, it ceases to work during sound sleep. But the latter implies sub-consciousness which is never at rest during sleep or during the possession of full normal life.

18. Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, University of Calcutta, 1912, p. 216.

19. *TK*, v. 5 :

"तदालम्बं मनोनाम विज्ञानं मननात्मकम् ।"

20. *VMS*, p. 45.

21. *Ibid*., pp. 50-51.

22. *AS*, ed. Upadhyaya, Baldev, Varanasi, p. 95.

23. *TK*, v. 91 :

"सर्वत्रगैर्विनियतैः कुशलैश्चेतसैरसौ ।
संप्रयुक्ता तथा क्लेशैरूपक्लेशैस्त्रिवेदना ।।"

24. *VMS*, p. 52.

25. *AS*, p. 799.

26. *VMS*, p. 39 ; *AS*, p. 144.

27. *Millindapanho* (The questions of King Milinda) Sacred books of the East, vol. XXXV Book II, Ch. I, pp. 50-51.

28. *AS*, p. 110.

29. *VMS*, p. 40.

30. *Ibid*., pp. 40-41.

31. *AS*, p. 102.

32. *VMS*, p. 41.
33. *AS*, p. 105.
34. *VMS*, p. 41 ; *AS*, p. 106.
35. *VMS*, p. 52.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
39 *Ibid.*, also see *Milliñdapanho*, Book II, Ch. I, p. 59.
40. *AS*, p. 148.
41. *VMS*, p. 53.
42. AS, p. 107
    (सम्पिण्डनरसो)
43. *Vishuddhimagga*, Ch. 3 (quoted from *AS*, p. 107).
44. *VMS*, pp. 53-55.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
46. *Milliñdapanho*, Book II, Ch. I., p. 54.
47. *AS*, p, 146.
48. *VMS*, p. 55.
49. *Ibid*, p. 56.
50. *AS*, p. 150.
51. *VMS*. p. 56 ; *AS*, p. 150.
52. *VMS*, p. 56.
53. *AS*, p. 150.
54. *VMS*, p. 56; *AS*, p. 153.
55. *VMS*, p. 57.
56. *Ibid.*: *AS*, p. 118.
57. *VMS*, pp. 57-58; also see *Milliñ dapanho*, Book II, Ch. I, p. 57.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *TK*, vv. 11, 12.
62. *VMS*, p. 27 :
    "क्लेशा हि मोक्षप्राप्तेरावरणमिति"

63. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Abhidharmakośa (Sphutarthi)* p. 301 (quoted from *AS*).
66. *VMS*, p. 61.
67. *Skandha* means five aggregates of an individual. These are : (i) *Rūpa* (form) ; (ii) *Vedanā* (sensation) ; (iii) *Samjñā* (conception) ; (iv) *Samskāra* (deeds) ; (v) *Vijñāna* (consciousness).
68. *AS*, p. 130.
69. *VMS*, pp. 61-63.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
71. See note 67 of this chapter.
72. *VMS*, p. 64; also *AS*, pp. 143f.
73. *TK*, vv. 12-14.
74. *VMS*, p. 65.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 67.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
93. *Ibid*,

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*

96. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

97. *Ibid.*

98. *VK*, v. 2 :

"न देशकालनियमः सन्ताननियमो न च ।
न च कृत्यक्रिया युक्ता बिज्ञप्तिर्यदि नार्थतः ॥"

also see *VMS*, p. 3.

99. *VK*, vv. 3, 4 :

"देशादिनियमः सिद्धः स्वप्नवत् प्रेतवत् पुनः ।
सन्तानानियमः सर्वैः पूयनद्यादिदर्शने ॥"
"स्वपनोपघातवत् कृत्यक्रिया नरकवत् पुनः ।
सर्वं नरकपालादिदर्शने तैश्च बाधने ।"

100. *VMS*, p. 3.

101. *Ibid.*

102. *Ibid.*

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

106. *VK*, v. 18 :

"मिद्धेनोपहितं चित्तं स्वप्ने तेनासमं फलम् ॥"

107. *TK*, v. 17 :

"विज्ञानपरिणामोऽयं विकल्पो यद्विकल्प्यते ।
तेन तन्नास्ति तेनेदं सर्वं विज्ञप्तिमात्रकम् ॥"

108. *VMS*, p. 84 :

(तस्मिन् सति गतिः सर्वा निर्वाणाधिगमोऽपि वा ॥)

109. *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 88 :

110. *TK*, v. 4.

"...तच्चवर्तते स्रोत सौववत् ॥"

111. *TK*, v. 19.

"कर्मणो वासना ग्राह द्वयवासनया सह ।
क्षीणे पूर्वविपाकेऽन्यद्विपाकं जलयन्ति तत् ॥"

112. *VMS*, pp. 84, 87.
113. *Ibid*., p. 84.
114. *TK*, v. 5 :

"तस्य व्यावृत्तिरर्हत्वे···।।"

also see *VMS*, p. 44.

115. *Ibid*.
116. See note 111 of this chapter, also, *VMS*, pp. 82-83.
117. *Ibid*., p. 44.
118. *Ibid*., pp. 93-95.
119. *Ibid*., pp 84 ; 87.
120. *TK*, v. 28 :

"यदालम्बनं विज्ञानं नैवोपलभते तदा ।
स्थितं विज्ञानमात्रत्वे ग्राह्याभावे तदग्रहात् ।।"

121. *VMS*, p. 98.
122. *Ibid*., pp. 99, 100.
123. *Ibid*., 9, 99, 102.
124. *TK*, v. 30 :

"स एवानास्रवो धातुरचिन्त्यः कुशलो ध्रुवः ।
सुखो विमुक्तिकायोऽसौ धर्माख्योऽयं महामुनेः ।"

125. *VMS*, p. 101.
126. *Ibid*.
127. *Ibid*.
128. *Ibid*.
129. *Ibid*.
130. *Ibid*., p. 100.
131. *Ibid*.
132. *Ibid*., p. 101.
133. *Ibid*., pp. 100-102.

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